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# HEBRAICA

A Quarterly Journal in the Interests of Semitic Study

VOLUME V

OCTOBER 1888 - JULY 1889

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# HEBRAICA

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL IN THE INTERESTS OF SEMITIC STUDY

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VOLUME V.

OCTOBER, 1888—JULY, 1889.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS.

## OCTOBER.

I. JASTROW'S TALMUDIC DICTIONARY. <i>By Rabbi K. Kohler</i> .....	1- 6
II. PENTATEUCHAL ANALYSIS. II. <i>By Rev. Benjamin Wisner Bacon</i> .....	7- 17
III. THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION. <i>By Prof. W. R. Harper, Ph. D.</i> .....	18- 73
IV. BABYLONIAN LETTER.—THE JOSEPH SHEMTOB COLLECTION OF BABYLONIAN ANTIQUITIES RECENTLY PURCHASED FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA. <i>By Robert Francis Harper, Ph. D.</i> .....	74- 76
V. THE PRESENT STATUS OF SEMITIC STUDIES IN THIS COUNTRY. <i>By Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph. D.</i> , in Addresses on "Semitic Studies in America.".....	77- 79
VI. RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT. <i>By William Hayes Ward, D. D., LL. D.</i> , in Addresses on "Semitic Studies in America.".....	80- 82
VII. SEMITIC STUDY IN THE UNIVERSITY. <i>By Prof. William R. Harper, Ph. D.</i> Ibid.	83- 85
VIII. SEMITIC STUDY IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY. <i>By Prof. Francis Brown, Ph. D., D. D.</i> Ibid.....	86- 88
IX. BRIEF ADDRESSES IN CONNECTION WITH THE SAME TOPICS. <i>By Professors Crawford H. Toy, D. D., Paul Haupt, Ph. D., William Henry Green, D. D., and David G. Lyon, Ph. D.</i> Ibid.	88- 91
X. BOOK NOTICES:—Wortabet's Arabic-English Dictionary, <i>Prof. Henry W. Hulbert.</i> A New Assyriological Journal.....	92, 93
XI. SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	94- 96

## JANUARY—APRIL.

I. NOTES ON THE PSALMS. <i>By Samuel Davidson, D. D., LL. D.</i> .....	97-109
II. ERMAN'S EGYPT. <i>By F. C. H. Wendel, Ph. D.</i> .....	110-114
III. JEWISH GRAMMARIANS OF THE MIDDLE AGES. VI. <i>By Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph. D.</i> .....	115-120
IV. THE USE OF PESIQ IN THE PSALMS. <i>By Prof. A. J. Maas, S. J.</i> .....	121-120
V. THE HAPAX LEGOMENA OF THE MINOR PROPHETS. <i>By Rev. A. S. Carrier</i> .....	121-126
VI. THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION. <i>By Professor W. Henry Green</i> .....	127-129
VII. NOTES ON THE HEBREW VERB—PLURAL IN Â. <i>By Rev. John P. Peters, Ph. D.</i> ...	120, 121
VIII. PRONOMINAL ROOTS. <i>By Prof. A. J. Maas, S. J.</i> .....	122-125
IX. CONTRIBUTED NOTES:—Devise Evil, <i>Thomas Laurie</i> .—House of their Fathers, <i>T. L.</i> .—Mouth, <i>T. L.</i> .—The Inscription of Tabnit, <i>Richard Gottheil, Ph. D.</i> .—Prof. Bickell's System of Hebrew Metre.—Judges XV. 16.—Postscript to Semitic Studies in America, <i>Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph. D.</i> .—A Manuscript of the Ethiopic Psalter, <i>Prof. G. H. Schodde, Ph. D.</i> .—An Arabic Coin, <i>J. F. X. O'Connor, S. J.</i> .—The Use of Tenses in Hebrew Narrative, <i>W. H. Bennett, M. A.</i> .....	126-204
X. BOOK NOTICES:—Krali, Tyre and Sidon, <i>F. C. H. Wendel, Ph. D.</i> .....	205, 206
XI. SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	207, 208

## JULY.

I. THE HAPAX LEGOMENA OF THE MINOR PROPHETS. <i>By Rev. A. S. Carrier</i> .....	209-214
II. A SYRIAC LEXICOGRAPHICAL TRACT. <i>By Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil, Ph. D.</i> .....	215-229
III. CORRECTIONS TO THE TEXT OF THE BLACK OBELISK OF SHALMANESER II. <i>By Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph. D.</i> .....	230-242
IV. THE ANALYSIS OF GEN. XII. 6-XVII. 27. THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION. II. <i>By Prof. W. R. Harper, Ph. D.</i> .....	243-252
V. THE ANALYSIS OF GEN. XVIII. 1-XXIII. 20.....	252-265
VI. THE ANALYSIS OF GEN. XXIV. 1-XXVIII. 9.....	265-274
VII. THE ANALYSIS OF GEN. XXVIII. 10-XXXIII. 17.....	275-285
VIII. THE ANALYSIS OF GEN. XXXIII. 18-XXXVII. 1.....	285-291
IX. BOOK NOTICES: Schrader's "Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek," <i>Morris Jastrow</i> ...	292-296
X. SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	297, 298
XI. GENERAL INDEX TO VOL. V.....	299, 300

# ➤ HEBRAICA. ◀

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VOL. V.

OCTOBER, 1888.

NO. I.

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## JASTROW'S TALMUDIC DICTIONARY.\*

BY DR. K. KOHLER,

New York City.

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Max Mueller's familiar saying: "He who knows only one language knows none," holds good of no dialect as much as of the Aramaean. For no language, not even the English and Turkish, contains as large a store of foreign words, and many of these disguised and disfigured almost beyond recognition, as does the language spoken by the Jews in Palestine and Babylonia under the Roman and Parthian rule and used in Jewish literature down to the thirteenth century. The meaning of many of these foreign words having been frequently forgotten, we need not wonder at finding a large number of them in an utterly corrupt form which renders it quite difficult to the finest linguist to decipher them. Add to this the total lack of critical editions of either the Talmuds or the Midrashic literature.—In regard to the Targumim, Prof. De Lagarde and A. Berliner made at least a fair beginning.—Thus few realize some of the difficulties the writer of an Aramaic dictionary has to cope with. Aside, however, from these external disadvantages, the one great task of the lexicographer, which consists in the tracing of each word to its root and explaining its various uses in the different formations and ramifications, is much aggravated here where we have to deal with a language which is neither the natural growth of a national speech nor presented in the manner in which it was spoken by the people, but is the dialect of a school ever busy to coin its own terms and create its own laws of etymology. Quite frequently we find biblical expressions pressed into new meanings and molded into

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\* A DICTIONARY OF THE TARGUMIM, THE TALMUD BIBLE, AND THE MIDRASH LITERATURE. Compiled by Morris Jastrow, Sr., Ph. D. Part I. and II. London: *Truebner & Co.* New York: *Putnam & Sons.* 1886 and 1887.



new forms to serve as legal or ritualistic terms, and again when Roman or Persian life presented new conceptions or practices, we see their respective technical terms invested with Aramæan forms to secure their naturalization in Jewish law and Jewish circles.

Now, while Buxtorf won for himself immortal fame by his pioneer-work in this field, he failed particularly in the latter point. He was not familiar enough with the vast rabbinical literature and the spirit of talmudical casuistry to be able to clear up the puzzling problems of rabbinical terminology. In this respect, Prof. I. Levy's two dictionaries, the one on the Targumim and the other on the Talmud, represent an immense progress. The vast condition of this great talmudic scholar enabled him to achieve the herculean task of setting before the reader the entire stock of words contained in these works not only in an exhaustive but in a wonderfully clear and instructive manner, so as to furnish every German student with the means of penetrating into the hitherto hidden mysteries of talmudic lore. Prof. Levy does not merely give the words and their meanings, but, to the great benefit of the scholars, he presents also fair specimens of the various applications of each so as to offer a fair insight into the legal intricacies of the Halakha, the *practical*, and into the niceties of the Haggadah, the *homiletical* interpretation of the Bible. Still Prof. Levy is no linguist. Both his classical and his oriental, Syriac, Arabic and Persian, knowledge is extremely superficial. Hence his own etymological attempts at explaining rare words are, in most cases, without value. True, he endeavored to make up for this defect by obtaining the valuable contributions of Prof. Fleischer. But these are to a great extent criticisms, general or single, of the author's etymologies, and are far from covering the whole field.

It is not the place here to dwell on the merits or the defects of the great Hebrew work of Rev. Dr. A. Kohut, since three years resident of New York City, the *Arakh Competum*, the scholarly edition of the Talmudic Dictionary, by Nathan, of Rome, of the tenth century, almost indispensable to the student of talmudic literature. That which here concerns us most, the etymological explanations offered by Dr. Kohut, cannot claim undisputed credit, as they draw altogether too much on the Persian Dictionary, often presenting words of doubtful existence.

In undertaking to write an Aramæan Dictionary for the English student, Rev. Dr. Jastrow is far from claiming to supersede and outdo his predecessors in the field. By calling the work on its very title page a "compilation," he modestly declines originality as to plan and method. He obviously walks in the footsteps of Dr. Levy. To judge from the two parts that are before us, his intention is chiefly to furnish the student with a handier book, written in as concise a form as possible so as to facilitate its use. Viewed in this light, the undertaking certainly is a laudable one and deserves all possible encouragement. As Prof.

Levy's dictionary has done yeoman's work for a more thorough and a more general study of talmudical literature among German scholars, so will, we trust, Dr. Jastrow's, when once completed,—and we fervently wish and pray for his continued health to enable him to carry the work through to its successful end!—work as an incentive to English students to take up the study of a literature which is of such great importance to both the Jewish and the Christian scholar.

In one regard, Dr. Jastrow has even improved upon Prof. Levy. In careful study of Roman law he has frequently found opportunity of casting new light on rabbinical nomenclature, for which talmudists will bear him thanks. Not seldom he also offers plausible emendations of passages, the corrupt reading of which have filled the dictionary with the quaintest possible and impossible words. It would exceed the limits of a review, were I to enlarge on any of these. Suffice it to say that the author displays good judgment and independence of mind in this direction.

Quite different, however, must our verdict be when we are to judge the methods or arrangement and the etymological system upon which the work is based. The first rule in arranging the words must be *consistency*. No lexicographer has a right to have an article on p. 15 on **אָנַר** = letter, and another on p. 45 on **אִנְרַתָּא**, one on **אוּחְרִיא** p. 24, one on **אֲחורא** p. 39, one on **אֲחֲרִיא** p. 41, and again another on **אִיחורא** p. 46. Every one using a dictionary is supposed to know so much of grammar as to look for **אוֹכַל** and **איִכּוֹל** under **אָכַל**, for **אוֹלָפִן** under **אָלַף**, and for **אוֹנֵס** under **אָנַס**, or for **בִּישׁ** under **בָּאֵשׁ**, etc., etc. Nor is this defect only a formal one. A just saying of the rabbis is: **כָּל הַמוֹסִיף גּוֹרַע** "He who does too much detracts from the whole." Single instances show that the author was himself misled. Take the root **אָנַר**. Here the author presents the following verbs: **אָנַר** I. = to gather, collect; **אָנַר** I. = to heap up; **אָנַר** II. to gird, arm; **אָנַר** II. = to hire, to employ, and **אָנַר** III. = rent, wages. This is followed by **אִינַר** = roof (from **אָנַר** II.) and **אֲנִרָא** = letter (?) **אֲנִרָא** from **נָנַר** to join. Now these Roman figures after Fuerst's style are simply misleading. **אָנַר** II. in the sense of girding, arming, does not exist except in late rabbinical mispronunciation! **אָנַר**, in Hebrew = gather, heap up, corresponds with the Aramæan **יָנַר** whence **יָנַר** = **אִינַר** = pile of stone and roof. Also the name of the "Roof-Demon" = **אֲנִרָא** (see Levy s. v. **אִינַר**) is derived from the same root. The Aramæan **אָנַר** is hire, rent. All biliteral roots of the author must be discarded as based on theories which are to-day utterly exploded. These sometimes border on absurdity. So, for instance, **בָּאֵר** = to clear up, is derived from **בָּא בּוֹא** = come, or **בּוֹר** = to lie waste, from **בָּה**, or **בָּאֵשׁ** = to be in a bad state, from **בָּא**.

The worst feature of the work, however, is that the author rides a hobby, being desirous of upsetting all established rules of Aramæan lexicography and replacing them by a theory of his own. He is bent upon Hebraizing most of those

words generally admitted to be of foreign origin, and in doing so he ignores the fundamental law of all etymological research. Things in daily use are always called by names by which they are generally known, not by such as each people chose to give them. And as most tools and merchandise as well as commercial practices come by the way of Greek or Roman, later on of Persian market places, one is in most cases nearer the truth when searching for foreign terminology in connection with foreign things. Against this well-nigh axiomatic truth the author persistently shuts his eye whenever he finds an opportunity of advancing a Hebrew root in support of his pet theory. Quite characteristic is his (also Levy's) derivation of **אֵיר**, which is nothing else but the Greek *ἀήρ* = air, from **אֵר** = light, or of **אוכלוס**, **אוכלו** and **אכליותא** the Greek *οχλος* = crowd (from which the verb **אכלי** = to make noise, was derived) from **כלו** (?) = collegit(?); of **אוניה**, **אוני** and **אוניתא** (obviously the Greek *ὄνη* = deed, title of possession, from **אוניה**? possession?) because **און** signifies power, strength. Likewise is the Greek *ἐννη* = **אינא** = night-lodging, derived from **אנן** = **עון**, **חון**, etc., or such words as *δγκος* = **אונקי**, *δγκινος* = **אונקלי** = hook, derived from **אנק** = neck. That such a word of frequent occurrence as *κατάλυσος* = market, fair, may in popular use be deformed into **עטליז אטליסית** or **אטליז**, Dr. Jastrow finds less probable than that the Jew should have coined for it a term of his own out of the root **טלל** and given it so un-Semitic a form as is **Atlez** or **Itlez**! Not even as common a word for inn as is *hospitium*, would be allowed to be accepted by the Jewish or Syrian traveler and pronounced **אוישפיא**. Not at all. A good Hebraist is to have coined that word out of the root **נשר** evening-breeze!! So is the word **אומיל** = the Greek *ζμίλη* = knife, traced to **זמל**, **מל**, **סמל**, **סמל**!!! or **אמצע** = *ἡμισυ* = half, between, to **מין**—to press!!!

That, in order to easily pronounce a diphthong in the word, the Semite, as a rule, puts the Alef Prostheticon before it as prefix, the author cannot help recognizing in such words as **אסטאטיכא** = *stativa*, **אסטבלא** = *stabula*, **אסטימכא** = *stomachos*, **אסטרטא** = *strata*, **אסטרטיוט** *στρατιώτης*, **אסכריא** (compare **אסדא** corrupt) = *σχεδια*, **אסכולי** = *σχολη*. And yet he persists in espying an Ethpael noun in **אסטנויות**, **אסטכיוא** (from **סכ**, **סכי**! = *στέγη*); in **אצטנגנין** = **אסטרולוגוס** = *ἀστρολόγος* (from **סנגון**!) in **אצטלא** and **אסטליתא** = *στόλη* (from **טלל**!); in **אספלירא** = *ψαλίδιον* = vault (from **פלר**!); in **אספלנית** = *σπλινιον* = plaster, (from **בלי** or **בלטי**!); in **איסטבא**, **איסטווא** = *στόδα* = portico (from **סכב**!). Can there be any doubt that **איסמטא** = alley = *semita*, or **איסתנים** = *ἀσθενής* = feeble; **אמברא** = store = emporium; **אמבטי** = *ἐμβάτη* = bath-tub? Or that **אפוכי** is = *ἀποχή* = receipt? Or that the usual term for the heretic, skeptic, or any irreverent person **אפיקורוס** is the Greek *Epicurus*, our epicurean? Dr. Jastrow denies it all. He coins words, creates roots *ad libitum*, in firm, determined opposition to all adopted rules. Not even such words as **בסיס** = *βάσις*, basis, and **בימא** = *βήμα* = elevated stand, are allowed to rank

among the foreign elements. Of course, we cannot but regret the author's waste of time and labor on a theory which no Orientalist can declare otherwise than fallacious.

Another theory the author advances which does not seem to have any stronger foundation either. It is that the rabbis intentionally changed the form of certain names in order to lend them a bad flavor, by way of cacophemism, as he calls it. Thus he finds in **בֵּי אֲבִירִין**, a meeting-place for non-Jewish sects, a cacophemism for **בֵּית וְעֵדָא** = meeting-house (**אֲבִירִין** implying destruction!) But Wiesner in his scholien to Sabbath, p. 116, has convincingly shown that there existed two places where Christian and Parsees held their disputes, the one being at *Nicephorium* on the Euphrates, the other at *Bezabde* on the Tigris. These are called in the Talmud **בֵּי נֶצְרִי** and **בֵּי אֲבִירִין**. (See Ritter X. 167, 253). That these scenes were quite anachronistically placed in the time of Emperor Hadrian, is not surprising to the student of talmudical tradition. Likewise does the author espay cacophemism in **אֵצְטְרִין**, **אֵצְטְרִיא**, **אֵצְטְרִי**, obviously the Greek *στάδιον*, as if it was purposely called place of ruins, from **צַדִּי** or **צָרִי** and the like, whereas the corrupt forms are due to copyists and popular mispronunciations. The same is true of **בֵּימוֹס** = *βωμός*, the Greek being probably derived from the Phœnician **בְּמָה** = altar, sacred hill top. It has nothing to do with **בֵּי מֵיאוֹס** = house of ugliness.\*

A good explanation is given by the author (see the preface) of the word **אֲנֶדְרוֹלְמָסִיא** = *ἀνδροληψία* = "men-seizure;" of **אֵיפּוֹפִי** as euphemism for **אֱלֹהֵי** cf. **יְכֵה יוֹסִי אֶת יוֹסִי** where **יוֹסִי** stands for **יְהוָה** (Sanhedrin VIII., 6). But **אָמוֹס** = model, is not = "אֲמֹאִים" nor as Levy has it = *μίμημα*—but a genuine formation of **אָמוֹס אָמוֹס** (cf. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 108).

In reference to proper nouns, we notice some misleading remarks, if, e. g., **אוֹנֶקְלוֹס** is called the alleged translator of the Pentateuch into Chaldaic, often surnamed **הֲנֵר**—the proselyte often identified with Aquila, the alleged (*sic*!) author of a Greek translation of the Bible. The fact is generally admitted by scholars that the actual name of the Greek translator of the Bible, *Aquila*, the Proselyte, being made the subject of Babylonian legends under the harder form of **אוֹנֶקְלוֹס**, was later on transferred to the Chaldaic Targum which is the work, not of one translator, but of gradual growth.

Under **אָסִי** the author repeats the untenable derivation of the name given to Essenes from **אָסִיא** = physician. The double *s* after the *e* ought to convince any linguist that this etymology is worthless, aside from the fact that Essenes were a religious sect, not a class or profession. As Frankel has long ago made it probable, the name **צְנוּעִים** (and **חֲשָׁאִים**) for the humble ones, comes nearest

\* Only very rarely such cacophemism is found in the Talmud, as in **עֵין גְּלִיין** = sinful scroll for *εὐαγγέλιον* = the New Testament, Sabbath, 116a, s. v. **אֵין**.

to the pronunciation Essenes (and Essæans). Likewise might the author s. v. **ביתוס** have mentioned that the Boethusians are not by far as old as the Sadducees, notwithstanding the talmudical tradition to that effect, but that the founder of the sect and the grandfather of Martha are probably identical!

**ארמילוס**, the Jewish Antichrist, has in spite of Levy and Graetz, nothing whatsoever to do with Romulus, but is, as I first singled out in a review of Prof. Levy's Targum Dictionary, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society in 1869, p. 693, the Persian *Aramainyus* or *Ahriman*, the antagonist of the (Persian) Saviour (Soschiosch) or Messiah.

**אפיקטויזין** = taking an emetic, I identified (eodem, p. 690) with *αποκαταρσις*. Dr. Jastrow's suggestion to compare it with *ἀποκοτταβίζειν* = "to take an emetic before the meal," if such meaning of the word is proven, is more acceptable. We cannot, however, close our review without remarking that there is yet altogether too much conjecturing done in the field of talmudic lexicography, and unless the Syrian and Persian literature is thoroughly studied with a view to the archæology of the time, unless such works as those of Loew "Die Aramäische Pflanzennamen," of Fränkel "Die Aramäische Fremdwörter," and of Strack and Siegfried: "Lehrbuch d. Neuhebräischen Sprache" and Strack's "Joma," "Aboda Zara," have cleared the way for the talmudical scholar, all linguistic research will be but tentative and experimental. In the meantime each work is a welcome contribution, and so we part with the author, wishing him that his work shall grow in usefulness as he continues it in noble self-sacrifice.

## PENTATEUCHAL ANALYSIS.\*

BY REV. BENJAMIN WISNER BACON,

Lyme, Conn.

### II. PRIESTLY AND "PROPHETIC" CODES IN THE HEXATEUCH.

#### The Law of Holiness, P<sup>1</sup>.

##### *Leviticus 17-26, and kindred passages.*

In the legal portions of the Hexateuch the number of our authorities is diminished. Kittel confines himself to a general discussion of Deuteronomy and an assent to the general verdict of criticism which assigns Lev. 17-26 to P<sup>1</sup> and Ex. 25-31 to P<sup>2</sup>. Delitzsch gives only an occasional hint in his "Studien," and although there is a considerable literature especially devoted to the "Law of Holiness," Lev. 17-26, and to Deuteronomy, we shall not add to the bibliography prefixed to the previous article. The three main authorities, Well., Kuen. and Dill. must suffice for our present purposes. With regard to the two former it should be said that the words, "it [P<sup>2</sup>] incorporated and added to P<sup>1</sup>," on p. 216 of the preceding article, convey a false idea of their position. Well. and Kuen. hold that P<sup>1</sup> was incorporated with P<sup>2</sup>, but by a third hand. The earliest fragment held by any of the critics to belong to this primitive priestly code is

1. [a Sabbath ordinance.]

Ex. 31:13ac, 14a (a "resemblance" to P<sup>1</sup> is suggested by Dill. in Ex. 6:6-8; 12:12b and 29:46; the fragment in 31:13f introduced by R).<sup>1</sup>

2. [The law of sin-offerings, in trespasses against God and against one's neighbors.]

Lev. 5:1-6, 21-24a (in II., p. 373f, P<sup>1</sup>, or at least some source prior to P<sup>2</sup>, is recognized as lying at the basis of Lev. 2 [the law of meal-offerings], 5:1-7, 21-26 [as above + vs. 7 and 24b-26], and chs. 6 and 7 [the law of the six kinds of offering]. In the later volume only 5:1-6, 21-24a is ascribed to P<sup>1</sup>; chs. 6 and 7 contain ancient *toroth*, possibly P<sup>1</sup>'s, in the recension of P<sup>3</sup>).<sup>2</sup>

3. [The law of clean and unclean beasts: defilement by eating and from the touch.]

Fragments incorporated with P<sup>2</sup> in Lev. 11:1-23, 41-47 (11:24-40 and the basis of the rest of the chapter belongs to P<sup>2</sup>. In II., p. 480f, 11:1-23, 41-44a = P<sup>1</sup>);

\* Continued from the July number.

<sup>1</sup> Del. (XII.), Ex. 31:12-14. Well. and Kuen. = P<sup>3</sup>; the latter admits as possible an "influence from" P<sup>1</sup> in 6:6-8; 12:12b; 29:46 and 31:12-14a.

<sup>2</sup> Del. (XII.), 5:21-26. Well. and Kuen., Lev. 1-7 = P<sup>1</sup>.



11. The law of the feast of *mazzoth*, of Pentecost, and of tabernacles.

Lev. 23:9-20 (traces of P<sup>2</sup> in vs. 11-14), 22,39-43 (P<sup>2</sup> in v. 39), (vs. 1-8,21,23-38,44 = P<sup>2</sup>).<sup>11</sup>

12. The penalty of blasphemy and bloodshed; the *lex talionis*.

Lev. 24:15-23 (exc. vs. 16 and 23, and traces in v. 22 = P<sup>2</sup>); vs. 1-14 also = P<sup>2,12</sup>

13. The sabbatical year [and year of jubilee]; idols and *maggebhoth* forbidden.

Lev. 25:18-22, and traces throughout the chapter; 26:1f (25:1-7,8-17,23-55 = P<sup>2</sup> on a basis of P<sup>1</sup>).<sup>13</sup>

14. A paraenetic conclusion to the "Law of Holiness" by the compiler: promises of blessing in case of obedience, and of plagues and curses in case of disobedience; the captivity foretold; the land to lie fallow during the exile and "enjoy her Sabbaths;" repentance in the land of captivity will restore Yahweh's favor; colophon to the code.

Lev. 26:3-46.<sup>14</sup>

15. [(?)The law of the ordeal for jealousy; the water of bitterness mixed with the dust of the sanctuary conveying a curse.]

Num. 5:11-31(?) (a "resemblance" to P<sup>1</sup> in Num. 3:13).<sup>15</sup>

16. [The holy trumpets; fringes, cords and borders to be worn upon the garment; (?)the heave-offering of the first dough.]

Num. 10:9f; 15:38(37)-41 and perhaps vs. 18(17)-21.<sup>16</sup>

### The Code of the Priestly Lawbook, P<sup>2</sup>.

#### *Exodus 25—Numbers 36.*

1. The pattern shown in the mount; directions to Moses for the construction of the tabernacle and its furniture.

a) A contribution to be made by the people for the purposes of the sanctuary.

Ex. 25:1-9.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Well. and Kuen., 23:9-22,39-44 (exc. הַשָּׁבִי'...בְּחֹמֶשׁ וְיָמֵי and from בְּיָמֵי on, in v. 39, [= R]. The rest of ch. 23 = P<sup>1</sup>, exc. v. 3, assigned by Kuen. to P<sup>2</sup>). Del., 23:9-22 (vs. 1-8,23-38,44 = P<sup>1</sup>; 39-43 = R).

<sup>12</sup> Well., 24:15-22 (vs. 1-9 = P<sup>1</sup>; vs. 10-14 and 23 = P<sup>2</sup>). Kuen., 24:15-22\*. Del. (xii.), 24:15-22 (vs. 1-14,23 = P<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>13</sup> Well., Lev. 25:1-7,14-22 (35-38(?)) and traces underlying vs. 8-13,39-55; 26:1f (v. 23 = P<sup>1</sup> and belongs after v. 18; vs. 24-28 = P<sup>1</sup>, or perhaps P<sup>1</sup> thoroughly worked over by R; vs. 29-34 = P<sup>1</sup>; v. 9b = R). Kuen., 25:1-7,18-22 (vs. 18-22 = P<sup>1</sup> as distinguished from his material, H. G.), and traces in 8-17,23-55, especially in vs. 14-17,35-38 (the rest of ch. 25 = P<sup>2</sup>); 26:1f. Del. (xiii.), Lev. 25 = P<sup>1</sup> and P<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> *Id.* (P<sup>1</sup> as distinguished from his material).

<sup>15</sup> Well. and Kuen., P<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Well., 10:9f = P<sup>2</sup>; ch. 15 perhaps from the redactor, not the author, of P<sup>1</sup>. Kuen., Num. 15:37-41 (10:9f = P<sup>2</sup>; 15:1-16,17-21,22-31 and 32-38 = ordinances collected and incorporated by the redactor of P<sup>1</sup> according to Wellhausen's conjecture). Well. and Kuen. find also in Num. 33:52, 55f, a fragment characteristic of P<sup>1</sup>, but Kuen. attributes the resemblance to imitation on the part of P<sup>2</sup> or of R. Well. thinks the verses a fragment of P<sup>1</sup> incorporated by P<sup>2</sup>. Dill. considers them a fragment of J inserted by R. Del. (xiii), Num. 15:37-41 = P<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> *Id.*



b) The pattern of the ark of the covenant and the cherubim; of the table of shew-bread; of the golden candlestick; conclusion of the section.

Ex. 25:10-22, 23-30, 31-38, 39, 40 (v. 37 misplaced(?)).<sup>18</sup>

c) Details for the construction of the tabernacle; for the veil and the furniture.

Ex. 26:1-30, 31-37.<sup>19</sup>

d) The pattern of the altar; of the fore-court of the tabernacle.

Ex. 27:1-8, 9-19 (vs. 20, 21 = R from P<sup>2</sup> elsewhere).<sup>20</sup>

2. Aaron and his sons appointed to the priesthood.

a) The priestly garments; the ephod; the breast-plate; the mantle; the frontlet, tunic, turban and girdle.

Ex. 28:1-5, 6-14, 15-30, 31-35, 36-40.<sup>21</sup>

b) [Directions for the investiture of Aaron and his sons; linen breeches.]

Ex. 28:41-43.<sup>22</sup>

3. Directions for the consecration and installation of Aaron and his sons in the priest's office.

Ex. 29:1-35.<sup>23</sup>

4. [An atonement for the altar; an epilogue promising the divine presence in the tent of meeting].

29:36f, 43-46 (vs. 38-42 = R, from P<sup>2</sup> in Num. 28; in III. p. 636, from Num. 8).<sup>24</sup>

5. [The divine appointment of Bezalel and Oholiab to the workmanship.]

31:1-6 (30:1-10(?), 11-16; 31:12-17 = R, from elsewhere in P<sup>2</sup>, including a trace of P<sup>1</sup> in 31:12-17. The rest, viz. 30:17-21, 22-28; 31:7-11, = P<sup>3</sup>).<sup>25</sup>

6. Moses receives the tables of the testimony and descends from Sinai; his shining face.

Ex. 31:18a; 32:15a; 34:29-32 (34:33-35 = R).<sup>26</sup>

7. Execution of the directions given to Moses; the cloud fills the sanctuary.

According to the critics Ex. 35-40 is nearly, or quite, all P<sup>3</sup>. Of our authorities Dill. alone traces a nucleus of P<sup>2</sup> in 35:1-3, 4f, 20f; 36:2-6; 40:1f, 34-38, and the basis of Num. 9:15-23 and of Num. 7. Well. and Kuen. assign the entire mass to P<sup>3</sup>. With regard to Lev. 1-8 there is equal harmony. Well. and Kuen. assign all of chs. 1-7 to P<sup>3</sup> and all but the basis of ch. 8. Dill. admits (III., p. 641) that Lev. 1-7 in its present form and present position cannot belong to P<sup>2</sup> and further

<sup>18</sup> *Id.*

<sup>19</sup> *Id.*

<sup>20</sup> *Id.* (vs. 20f, P<sup>3</sup> according to Kuen. and Well.).

<sup>21</sup> *Id.* (exc. v. 13f; assigned by Well. to P<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>22</sup> P<sup>3</sup> according to Well. and Kuen.

<sup>23</sup> Well. and Kuen. 29:1-34 (v. 35 = P<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>24</sup> Well. and Kuen. P<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Del. (III.), 30:1-10 = P<sup>2</sup>; 11-16 = P<sup>3</sup>. Well. and Kuen., chs. 30 and 31:1-17 = P<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Kitt., 31:18a (possibly part of 32:15 and v. 35); 34:29-32 (33-35); Well., 31:18a; 34:29-35. Kuen., לִרְחֹת הָעֶרְוָה שֶׁנִּי in 31:18a (34:29-35 = P<sup>3</sup>).

admits the working over P<sup>2</sup> has received in ch. 8. The laws of different kinds of offerings in Lev. 1-7 were inserted by P<sup>3</sup>, but they contain, beside the fragments of P<sup>1</sup> already noted (5:1-6, 21-24a), some truly ancient *toroth* (e. g. 6:2-6), and in general there are no special reasons for denying that chs. 1-8 were derived from P<sup>2</sup>. Ch. 4 is a late substitute for P<sup>2</sup>'s law, now perhaps found in Num. 15:22-31, whereas Lev. 5:14-19 seems to be from P<sup>2</sup> and derived from the position now occupied by the late substitute Num. 5:5-10. The proper position for these fragments Dill. holds to be approximately that now occupied by Num. 7, where the fragment Num. 8:1-4 still remains *in situ*.

a) [A Sabbath ordinance; the free-will offering taken; the work committed to Bezalel and Oholiab.]

Ex. 35:1-3, 4f, 20f; 36:2-6.<sup>27</sup>

b) [The tabernacle erected and occupied; the oblations of the princes of the tribes; the golden candlestick, its pattern, and the provision for lighting; oil required; the shew-bread; the lamp lighted]; the cloud on the tabernacle as the signal for marching and encamping.

Ex. 40:1f, 34-38; the basis of Num. 7:1-89 (specifically v. 89); Ex. 25:37; 27:20f; 37:20f; Lev. 24:1-9; Num. 8:1-4; the basis of Num. 9:15-23 (Num. 7 and 9:15-23 in its present form = P<sup>3</sup>; the rest = fragments scattered by R).<sup>28</sup>

8. Aaron and his sons consecrated to the priesthood.

Lev. 8\*.<sup>29</sup>

9. The inauguration of the ritual; Aaron offers the first sacrifices and blesses the people.

Lev. 9.<sup>30</sup>

10. The sacrilege and death of Nadab and Abihu; [directions to Aaron, Eleazar and Ithamar]; the priests' dues of the meal offerings to be consumed beside the altar.

Lev. 10:1-5, 6-11, 12-15 (vs. 8-11 abbreviated by R; vs. 16-20 = R).<sup>31</sup>

11. Fragments of a code of laws concerning offerings, ritual, and ceremonial cleanness, the whole now displaced by Lev. (11) 12-15 (a collection of laws concerning cleanness assigned by all the critics to P<sup>3</sup>).

a) [The continual burnt offering.]

Ex. 29:38-42.<sup>32</sup>

b) [The law of burnt offerings from the herd, from the flock, of fowls; meal offerings burnt; the same baked; the same of first fruits; peace offerings from the herd; from the flock; from the goats.]

<sup>27</sup> Well. and Kuen. = P<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> Well. and Kuen., Ex. 25:37 and Num. 9:15-23 = P<sup>2</sup> in their present positions; the rest = P<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> Well. and Kuen. = P<sup>3</sup>, superseding a brief statement in P<sup>2</sup> of the fulfillment of the commands in Ex. 25 seq.

<sup>30</sup> *Id.*

<sup>31</sup> Well. and Kuen., Lev. 10:1-5, 12-15 (vs. 6-11 and 16-20 = R).

<sup>32</sup> Well. and Kuen. = P<sup>3</sup>

Lev. 1:1-9,10-13,14-17; 2:1-3,4-13,14-16; 3:1-5,6-11,12-17.<sup>33</sup>

c) [The law of sin offering; of trespass-offering.]

Num. 15:22-31 (v. 31\*); Lev. 5:14-19 (each of these passages is duplicated by P<sup>3</sup>, the former in Lev. 4, the position formerly occupied by Num. 15:22-31, the latter in Num. 5:5-10; Lev. 5:1-6[7],21-24a[26] = P<sup>1</sup>; vs. 7[8]-13,20[24b-26] = R, or P<sup>2</sup>).<sup>34</sup>

d) [Conclusion of P<sup>2</sup>'s law of offerings: the meal-offerings which must accompany different kinds of burnt-offering.]

Num. 15:1-16.<sup>35</sup>

e) [The law of cleanness: beasts that may and may not be eaten; uncleanness from the touch of certain beasts' carcasses; creeping things abominable; colophon.]

Lev. 11:24-40,44b-47 and the basis of the rest of the chapter, Num. 5:1-4 (Lev. 6f,11, except the portions just indicated, and 12-15 are from the hand of P<sup>3</sup>, who presents herein ancient *toroth* worked over in the place of P<sup>2</sup>'s law, which in the case of Num. 5:1-4 was displaced by Lev. 12-15).<sup>36</sup>

12. How and when the holy place shall be entered; the ritual of atonement for Aaron and his house; for the sanctuary and people; the goat for Azazel; the day of atonement appointed.

Lev. 16 (abbreviated by R after vs. 2 and 28 to transform it from a general direction for the purification of the sanctuary when accidentally defiled, to a periodical ceremony. From R come also the glosses *קדש הם בנגרי* and *בגרי קדש* in vs. 4 and 32).<sup>37</sup>

13. The appointment and ritual of the sacred feasts: passover; *mazzoth*; new-year (ecclesiastical); the day of atonement; tabernacles.

Lev. 23:1-8,21,23-38,44 and traces in vs. 11-14 and 39. (For fragments of P<sup>2</sup> in chs. 17-22 see under P<sup>1</sup>, p. 8).<sup>38</sup>

14. The law of blasphemy on the occasion of cursing in the camp. Lev. 24:10-14,16,23, and a trace in v. 22.<sup>39</sup>

15. [The sabbatical year; the year of jubile; the redemption of inheritances; regulations for the conveyance of real estate; usury; the Hebrew must not be enslaved: if sold to a foreigner, he must be redeemed by the next of kin.]

Lev. 25:1-7,8-17,23-31,35-55 = P<sup>2</sup> on a basis of P<sup>1</sup> (vs. 32-34 = P<sup>3</sup>).<sup>40</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Well. and Kuen. = P<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> Well. and Kuen. = P<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Well. and Kuen. = P<sup>3</sup> (in this case probably the incorporator of P<sup>1</sup> with P<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>36</sup> Well., Lev. 11-15, Num. 5:1-4 = P<sup>3</sup>. Kuen., ditto, Lev. 11 containing, in vs. 2-23,41-47, material from P<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> Well. and Kuen., Lev. 16 = P<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Well., 23:1-8,23-38. Kuen., ditto, exc. v. 8 = P<sup>3</sup>. Del. (XII.), 23:1-8,23-38,44.

<sup>39</sup> Well. and Kuen., 24:1-9,10-14,23 = P<sup>3</sup>. Del. (XII.), 24:1-9,10-14,23 = P<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> Well., 25:8-18 = P<sup>3</sup> on a basis of P<sup>1</sup>; vs. 24-28 = P<sup>3</sup> or P<sup>2</sup>; 29-34 = P<sup>3</sup>; 39-55 = P<sup>1</sup> worked over by P<sup>3</sup> or R. Kuen., vs. 8-17,23-55 (exc. traces of P<sup>1</sup> in vs. 14-17,35-38 and some others). Del. (XII.), Lev. 25 = P<sup>1</sup> and P<sup>2</sup>.

16. [The law of vows; the redemption of persons dedicated; of cattle; of a house; of a field; the firstling already dedicated; no devoted thing may be redeemed; redemption of the tithe; colophon.]

Lev. 27.<sup>42</sup>

17. Directions for the taking of a census of the people; results of the census; [the order of marching and encampment].

Num. 1. (Ch. 2 an interpolation by P<sup>3</sup>, the material drawn from P<sup>2</sup> and originally standing in Num. 10:13-28).<sup>42</sup>

18. [The *toledoth* of Aaron and Moses; the Levites assigned to Aaron and his sons as servants of the sanctuary; the census of the Levites.]

Num. 3:1-39 (vs. 32 and 36 worked over, and vs. 24-26, 29-31, 36-38 taken from ch. 4; vs. 40-51 = P<sup>3</sup>).<sup>43</sup>

19. [Direction to number the sons of Kohath; census of the three families of Levi, Kohath Gershon and Merari].

Num. 4:1-3, 34-48 (vs. 4-33, 49 = P<sup>3</sup>).<sup>44</sup>

20. [The consecration of the Levites.]

Num. 8:5-10, 13b, 14, 12, 13a, 15a, 20, 22. Vs. 11, 15b-19, 21, 23-26 = P<sup>3</sup>. Num. 5:1-4; 6:22-27, the basis of ch. 7 and 8:1-4 are fragments of P<sup>2</sup> belonging in a different connection and have already been assigned to their original position [according to Dill]. Num. 5:5-10 = P<sup>3</sup> [corresponding to P<sup>2</sup> in Lev. 5:14-19]; 5:11-31; 6:1-21 = P<sup>3</sup> on a basis of ancient *toroth*.<sup>45</sup>

21. [An after-passover for the ceremonially unclean.]

A brief notice underlying Num. 9:1-14 (vs. 15-23 = P<sup>2</sup> belonging in a different connection; see v. 7b).<sup>46</sup>

22. Directions concerning the silver trumpets; the journey resumed from Sinai.

Num. 10:1-4, 6b, 8 (v. 9f = P<sup>1</sup>; vs. 5, 6a, 7 from the hand [P<sup>2</sup> or R] which incorporated v. 9f), 11f (vs. 13-28 = P<sup>3</sup>).<sup>47</sup>

23. [Stoning of the Sabbath-breaker.](?)

Num. 15:32-36(?) (this passage perhaps = P<sup>3</sup>; the priestly elements of chs. 11-14 are given in the preceding article; 15:1-16, 22-30 are fragments of the displaced law of offerings of P<sup>2</sup>; v. 31 = R; vs. 17-21 = P<sup>1</sup>).<sup>48</sup>

24. Rank and functions of the priests and Levites; the priests' dues; tithes for the Levites; the tithe of the tithe a heave-offering.

<sup>41</sup> Del. (xii.), *id.*; Well. and Kuen., Lev. 27 = P<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> Well., Num. 1:1-16, 49-54 (vs. 17-47 = P<sup>3</sup> v. 48 = R); ch. 2. Kuen., Num. 1 and 2.

<sup>43</sup> Well., Num. 3:1-4 = R; vs. 5-13 = P<sup>2</sup>; 14-51 = P<sup>3</sup>. Kuen., 3:1-4 = R; vs. 5-51 = P<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> Well., ch. 4 = P<sup>2</sup>. Kuen., ch. 4 = P<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> Well. and Kuen., Num. 5-8 = P<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> Well. and Kuen., 6:1-14 = P<sup>3</sup> (vs. 15-23 = P<sup>2</sup>, in their present position).

<sup>47</sup> Well. and Kuen., Num. 9:15-10:28 = P<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> Well. and Kuen., Num. 15 = laws collected and incorporated by the same hand which introduced Lev. 17-26 (P<sup>3</sup>).

Num. 18 (exc. v. 16 [= R]). Chs. 16 and 17—mutiny of Korah; plating of the altar with the censers of Korah's company; the plague arrested by Aaron's intercession; budding of Aaron's rod—are treated in the preceding article; 17: 6-28 is unanimously assigned to P<sup>2</sup>.<sup>49</sup>

25. Directions for the distribution of the inheritances; boundaries of Canaan; a prince from each tribe appointed to divide the inheritances.

Num. 33:50f,54; 34:1-15 (vs. 13-15\*), 16-29 (33:52f,55f = J). Num. 19:1-33:49 has been treated in the preceding article, with exception of the four legal chapters, 19 and 28-30. These four chapters are unanimously assigned to P<sup>3</sup>, with the qualification in Dillmann's case that ch. 19 has a basis of ancient *toroth* like those underlying Lev. 6f; chs. 26f (P<sup>2</sup>) and 31 (P<sup>3</sup>) are not readily separable from the legislative group at the end of Numbers, but have already been considered in the former article.<sup>50</sup>

26. Appointment of the cities of the Levites, and the cities of refuge; the law of asylum for the cities of refuge.

Num. 35.<sup>51</sup>

27. Final adjustment of the inheritance of females; the daughters of Zelophehad marry cousins; [colophon].

Num. 36.<sup>52</sup>

### The Code of the "Prophetic" Hexateuch.<sup>53</sup>

#### *Deuteronomy.*

Deuteronomy spontaneously divides itself into two parts, a) the code, properly so-called, chs. 12-26, and b) the chapters preceding and following this nucleus of legislative material, which serve the purpose of connecting it with the Hexateuch history. As there is practically no disagreement among the critics concerning the former division it will be needless to discuss it in detail. It consists of

<sup>49</sup> Well. and Kuen., ch. 13.

<sup>50</sup> Well., 33:50-56 (perhaps incorporating a fragment of P<sup>1</sup> in vs. 52f) and ch. 34. Kuen., 33:50-34:29.

<sup>51</sup> *Id.*

<sup>52</sup> Well., ch. 36. Kuen., ch. 36 (exc. v. 13 = R).

<sup>53</sup> In speaking of Deuteronomy as "the" code of the "prophetic" portion of the Hexateuch, it must be premised that the expression is not literally applicable. Deuteronomy, according to all the critics, is the work of an author later than either J or E, and in the sense of separate origin may be said to be independent of the "prophetic" authors, but in the matter of literary material "independent" is the last word to use. The work not only occupies the stand-point of JE, but professedly and intentionally reproduces what in some respects has a better claim to the title: "the code of the 'prophetic' Hexateuch," viz., the "Book of the Covenant" (Ex. 20-23. See preceding article), which according to Kuenen occupied in the original document of E the same relative position which Deuteronomy subsequently obtained in the Hexateuch. If we pass over thus the claims of the Book of the Covenant it is merely because D, from his position of literary dependence upon both J and E for historical and legal material alike, deserves to represent the "prophetic" law in contrast with the priestly. His version of the code, Ex. 20-23, although freely expanded, and in some particulars modified, is yet in the spirit a thoroughly faithful reproduction of what the author regards as the *torah* of Moses, viz., the writings already designated as "prophetic." These statements are in accordance with the unanimous opinions of the critics.

a) Laws addressed to the people for their guidance after the occupation of Canaan, concerning: a single place of worship; the blood of beasts shed elsewhere than at the altar; false gods, and enticement to worship them by prophet or fellow-citizens; the idolatrous city to be devoted; heathen mourning rites and the eating of unclean beasts forbidden; tithes for the sanctuary, and hospitality for the Levite; the year of release; compassion for the poor and the enslaved; firstlings; pass-over, the feast of weeks, and tabernacles; the administration of justice; [idolatry and a blemished sacrifice forbidden;] the priests a court of appeal in the administration of justice; [the king's conduct;] provision for the Levites; heathen practises forbidden; the prophet to be the guide in religious matters; manslaughter and the cities of refuge; removal of the ancient landmark forbidden; the law of testimony and *lex talionis*; military provisions; exemption from military duty; mitigation of the severities of war and siege, except against Canaanites; expiation of untraceable bloodshed; management of domestic affairs; bodies of executed criminals must be promptly buried; various regulations of social life; treatment of mutilated persons and foreigners; cleanness in the camp; various humane regulations; divorce; brief injunctions for justice, humanity and morality in various spheres; the levirate; impure action and fraud forbidden; vengeance must be taken on Amalek; gratitude to God inculcated in the offering of first-fruits; the tithe of the third year for the Levite, stranger, widow, and orphan; a prayer and confession and form of sacred covenant.

Deut. 12-26 (16:21-17:7 perhaps belongs after 12:31 and was misplaced by R<sup>d</sup>).<sup>54</sup>

b) The historical introductions and appendices to the code of D (chs. 1-11, 27-34). With regard to these introductions and appendices there is also but slight difference of opinion; all the critics are agreed that the more original introduction to the code is chs. 5-11, and all but Well. attribute it to the same hand as chs. 12-26 (Del. also might perhaps be excepted, who considers the basis of chs. 12-26 Mosaic; see (x.)). A second introduction is formed by 1:6-4:40. Dill. and Kitt. considers this to have been originally a synopsis by D, of the history in JE (more especially E) worked over by R<sup>d</sup> into a speech by Moses after the pattern of chs 5-11 to avoid the obvious repetition. Aside from this change from the 3<sup>d</sup> to the 2<sup>d</sup> person of the verb, the introduction of a few historical notes (e. g. 2:10-12, 20-23; 3:10f, 13b, 14; 4:41-43) also derived from D<sup>1</sup>, and ch. 4 (D<sup>1</sup>) removed from its original position after ch. 26, Deut. 1-26 is substantially what it was when it left the hand of its author. Well., Kuen. and Del. consider 1:6-4:40 the composition of D<sup>2</sup>. (Well., and perhaps Del., D<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>54</sup> *Id.* (Well. and Kuen. consider 16:21-17:7 [Kuen., at least 16:21-17:1] misplaced [Well., perhaps D<sup>2</sup>] and Well. assigns to D<sup>1</sup> 15:4f; 17:14-20 and 23:5-7, and is suspicious of at least a working over of ch. 20).

1. [A few words to designate the place of Moses' declaration of the law in the general history; Israel reminded of the departure from Horeb; of the appointment of officers to assist Moses; of Kadesh-barnea and the sending of the spies; of the murmuring of the people and their presumptuous attack upon the Amorites; of the journey by the way of the Red Sea and peaceful passage through Edom; of the similar treatment of Moab, and of the generation which died in the wilderness; of the capture of the territory of Sihon king of the Amorites, and the battle of Jahaz; of the capture of Bashan from Og, and settlement of Reuben, Gad and half-Manasseh there; of Moses' forewarning of his death, and the direction to give a charge to Joshua; an appeal to the people to obey the law now to be given; a reminder of Baal-peor and Horeb, and forewarning against the corrupt worship of the Canaanites; disobedience will be followed by exile, but sincere repentance in captivity will regain the favor of God, and bring to his remembrance the covenant, as when he brought them out of Egypt.]

Deut. 1:6-4:40\* (exc. 2:10-12, 20-23; 3:10f, 13b, 14 = R<sup>d</sup> from D; also 1:1f, 4f; 4:41-43 = R<sup>d</sup> from D; 1:3 = P<sup>2</sup>).<sup>55</sup>

2. [(Superscription of the code); Moses rehearses the Ten Words of the covenant, and the story of the theophany at Horeb; exhortation to keep the commandment; to love Yahweh; to be faithful to his worship; to observe the law and teach it to the children; the total destruction of the Canaanites and of the instruments of their worship enjoined; faithful observance of the commandment to be pure from Canaanitism will ensure the all-powerful help of Yahweh; exhortation to remember God's dealing and to beware of vain glorying; exhortation to humility in view of the fact that their position as God's chosen people is not due to their own righteousness; the incidents of the golden calf, of Taberah, Massah and Kibroth-hattaavah recalled as examples of their unworthiness; (the story of the renewal of the covenant and the departure from Horeb recalled;) a renewed exhortation to love and obey Yahweh supported by reference to the wonders in Egypt and at the Red Sea, and the death of Dathan and Abiram; a blessing promised for obedience; the blessing and curse to be set before the people on Ebal and Gerizim, as they enter the land.]

Deut. 4:44-11:32 (exc. 4:44-49; 5:5, 23; 6:3; 7:22; 9:4, 20; 10:19 = R<sup>d</sup>; 9:25-10:11 belongs in the introduction and was removed thence by R<sup>d</sup>; 11:29-31 was removed by him from D<sup>1</sup>'s appendix).<sup>56</sup>

3. [A hortatory conclusion to the code; the blessings in detail which will follow obedience; the curses in detail which will follow disobedience; colophon to the code.]

<sup>55</sup> So Kitt.; Well. and Kuen., Deut. 1-4:43 = D<sup>2</sup> (exc. 1:2(3)-5, 39 [cf. LXX.]; 4:44(?) = R). Del., 1:6-4:40 = D<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> Kuen., Kitt. and Del., 4:44-11:32. Well., 4:44-11:32 = D<sup>2</sup>, a writer earlier than the author of chs. 1-4, but later than D<sup>1</sup>.

Deut. 27:9f; 28:1-68\* (27:1-3 = R<sup>d</sup> from D elsewhere [see below]; vs. 5-7a = E; 4,7b,8,11-13,14-26 = R<sup>d</sup>; 4:1-40 and 11:29-31 belong after ch. 26 and were removed by R<sup>d</sup>).<sup>57</sup>

4. [Direction to write the law upon plastered stones; Moses forewarns the people of his death and encourages them under leadership of Joshua to pursue the conquest; he writes the law and delivers it to the priests; he makes a final farewell address; an adjuration to all the assembly to abhor strange gods, and warning against the wrath of Yahweh; a promise that when the curse has been realized true repentance in exile will bring restoration; the law is brought near, that its observance may be their life; Moses' death and burial.]

Deut. 27:1b-3 (instead of 1a [= R<sup>d</sup>] read וַיִּצוּ מֹשֶׁה אֶת-הוֹקְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל); 31:1-8,9-13,24-26a,28f; 32:45-47; 28:69-30:20 in part, and traces in 34:(1b)5f,11f; (28:69-30:20 is an expansion by R<sup>d</sup> of an original address by D<sup>1</sup>, of which 30:11-20 and traces in ch. 4 are preserved intact; 31:14f,23 = E; 16-22 = J; 26b,27 and 30 = R<sup>d</sup>; 32:1-44 = J; vs. 48-52 = P<sup>2</sup>; ch. 33 = a poem incorporated by E; 34:1a [to נָבִי], v. 5 in part, 7a,8f = P<sup>2</sup>; וְיִרְאֶהוּ...הָאָרֶץ in v. 1b and v. 4 = J; v. 10 = E; last four words of v. 1, vs. 2f,7b of uncertain origin).<sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Well., Deut. 27 = D<sup>2</sup> on the basis of an older source. Kuen., 27:9f; 28:1-69 (27:1-4,7b,8 = R; vs. 5-7a = E; 11-13,14-26 = R). Del., ch. 27f = D<sup>2</sup>. Kitt., 27:9f; 28:1-69.

<sup>58</sup> Kuen. and Kitt. attribute 28:69 and 31:9-13 to D<sup>1</sup> (Well. and Del., D<sup>2</sup>), and Kitt., 34:4 and 6 in part, 11f. The rest of chs. 29-34 is assigned by all the critics, except Dill., to authors other than D<sup>1</sup>, as follows: 27:1-3 = R<sup>d</sup> (so Kuen. and Kitt.; Well. and Del., D<sup>2</sup>); ch. 29f = D<sup>2</sup> (so Kuen. and Kitt.; Well. [and Del. (?)], D<sup>2</sup>); 31:1-8 = D<sup>2</sup> (so Well. and Kuen.); vs. 14f and 23 = E; vs. 16-22,24-30 = D<sup>2</sup> (so Kuen.; Well. and Kitt., vs. 14-23 = JE [E]); 32:1-44 = an incorporation by JE (R<sup>d</sup>) (so Well. and Kuen.; Kitt., vs. 1-43 a substitute for E's poem introduced by R<sup>d</sup>; v. 44 = E); vs. 45-47 = R<sup>d</sup>; 48-52 = P<sup>2</sup> (so Well., Kuen. and Kitt.); ch. 33 = an independent poem (so Well., Kuen. and Del.); Kitt., v. 1 = E; vs. 2-29 incorporated by E; ch. 34 includes, besides the fragments of JE, and P<sup>2</sup> elsewhere designated, only D<sup>2</sup> (so Well. and Kuen.; Kitt., vs. 4 and 6 in part, 11f = D<sup>1</sup>).



# THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION.\* I. GEN. 1:1—12:5.†

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## A. INTRODUCTORY.

In presenting and criticising the alleged Pentateuchal (more strictly Hexateuchal) Analysis, the writers have agreed upon the following points:

1. The first paper of each writer will cover Gen. 1-12:5; the second and third papers, Gen. 12:6-50; the remaining papers, later portions of the Hexateuch according to the circumstances of the case.

2. There will first be given the presentation of the facts and considerations urged in favor of the analysis (i. e. the more commonly accepted analysis which finds four distinct works combined by one or more editors or Redactors). This will be followed by a counter-statement or criticism.

3. Since the work has for its purpose to place the essential material and the most important considerations relating to the question to be discussed in a form which will enable the biblical students of America to grasp most easily the true merits of the case, the plan of presentation will be made strictly to conform to this purpose.

4. The material will be examined chapter by chapter, section by section; the facts will thus be collected step by step. Conclusions will not be advanced until the facts have been duly considered.

5. In the nature of the case, both writers will be restricted as to the space which may be used; yet an earnest effort will be made to introduce everything that is really important.

6. The question at issue is not, (1) What are the particular details of the analysis of the Hexateuch? or, (2) Granting the existence of documents, what relations do these documents sustain to each other? but, (3) *Are there really distinct documents?* i. e. such as the analysis of critics of the present generation presents? As a matter of course, material belonging strictly to the first and second questions will come up for consideration; still the discussion itself is upon the third question.

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\* THE ALLEGED FACTS AND CONSIDERATIONS OF THE PENTATEUCHAL ANALYSIS PRESENTED AND CRITICIZED BY *Professors Harper* (of Yale) and *Green* (of Princeton).

† The consideration of this same material by Professor Green will appear in the January *HEBRAICA*.

7. The article by Rev. B. W. Bacon on "The Pentateuchal Analysis" in July *HEBRAICA*, with its continuation in the present number, will be found to contain a very accurate statement of the various views relating to the exact material of each document. In view of the publication of this article the writers will be enabled to present the case within a much shorter compass than would otherwise have been possible.

## B. THE FACTS AND CONSIDERATIONS URGED IN FAVOR OF THE ANALYSIS OF GENESIS 1:1-12:5.\*†

### I. The Material as a whole.

1. To a priestly writer (hereafter referred to as P) critics assign the following portions:

1) The *tôl'dhōth* (*generations*) of the heavens and earth (creation, Sabbath), chs. 1:1-2:4a (the original title 2:4a having been removed by the Redactor from before 1:1, or from before 1:2, in which case 1:1 was substituted for it).

2) The *tôl'dhōth* of Adam (genealogical table of ten generations, the tenth branching into three), ch. 5:1-32 (exc. v. 29).

3) The *tôl'dhōth* of Noah (deluge (365 days), covenant with Noah, Noachic legislation), chs. 6:9-22; 7:6,11,13-16a,18-21,23b,24; 8:1,2a,3b-5,13a,14-19; 9:1-17,28,29.

4) The *tôl'dhōth* of the sons of Noah (ethnological table deriving the nations of the world from Noah's sons), ch. 10:1-7,20,22,23,31,32.

5) The *tôl'dhōth* of Shem (genealogical table of ten generations branching into three, Abram, Nahor and Haran), ch. 11:10-26.

6) The *tôl'dhōth* of Terah (migration of Terah, settlement of Abram and Lot in Canaan), chs. 11:27,31 (worked over by R), 32; 12:4b,5; [13:6,11b,12a, etc., to be taken up in another article].

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\* In the following presentation I have made a free use of the material furnished by all the leading writers upon the subject; cf. the list of works mentioned in *HEBRAICA*, Vol. IV., pp. 218, 219. I do not in each case name the writers who, before me, have presented the same matter, (1) because in most cases it would be necessary to name several writers; (2) because the great mass of the material has now become common property; (3) because to have done this would have required more space than could under any circumstances have been accorded the article; and chiefly (4) because, from the stand-point of the discussion, it is a matter of no consequence what a given critic thinks, the real question being whether, in the opinion of the student, the text under examination furnishes the fact stated; our work has to do with the text of Genesis and not with the critics of that text.

W. R. H.

† In this presentation, many statements will be made, especially under the heads of "material" and "theology," which to the student who for the first time considers this question may seem wholly inconsistent with any proper estimate of the contents of Scripture. Such a student will find it advantageous, thus from the very beginning of his work, to learn what is involved in an acceptance of the analysis. It is not, as is so often asserted, a merely literary question. Its decision carries with it the decision of many and important questions relating to the meaning and value of the sacred writings.

W. R. H.

2. To a prophetic writer (hereafter referred to as J) critics assign the following portions:

1) Beginning of the world, paradise, sin and curse, ch. 2:4b-3:24 (except (1) the word **אלהים** which regularly follows **יהוה**; (2) 3:20 which was either misplaced or inserted by R; and perhaps (3) 2:10-15).

2) Adam's descendants, Cain and Abel, genealogy of seven generations branching into three, song of Lamech, ch. 4:1-15 ((1) probably out of its original place, (2) **חור** (v. 1) by R), 17-24, 25, 26; 5:29 (the material of 4:17-24 being from an earlier source).

3) Sons of God and daughters of men, corruption, ch. 6:1-8 (except (1) **וגם אחריכן** v. 4; (2) **בראתי מאדם...השמים** and v. 7, which are by R); but compare what is said later (p. 39) concerning this passage.

4) Deluge of forty days; rescue of Noah; Noah's sacrifice; Yahweh's promise, ch. 7:1, 2, 3 (in part), 4, 5, 7 (in part), 10, 12, 16b, 17, 22, 23 (in part); 8:2b, 3a, 6-12, 13b, 20-22 (R being responsible for 7:3a, 7 in part, 8, 9, 22, 23 in part).

5) Noah's husbandry, prophetic song, peopling of the earth from Noah's sons, ch. 9:20-27, 18, 19; 10:8, 10-12, 13-19, 21, 24-30 (of which (1) 9:20-27 is from a special source, (2) 10:9, 24, 14 in part(?) and **וארמה וצבים** (v. 19) are by R).

6) Tower of Babel, dispersion, Abram and his family, ch. 11:1-9 (see, however, p. 56), 28-30 (exc. **נאיר כשרים** = R).

7) Abram called; journey with Lot, ch. 12:1-4a.

3. The differences of opinion between the chief critics have been minutely indicated by Mr. Bacon in the article already referred to. These variations may be classified as follows:

1) Cases in which some critics enter into a more minute analysis and find traces in a single document of two or three strata (called P<sup>1</sup>, P<sup>2</sup>, J<sup>1</sup>, J<sup>2</sup>, etc.), e. g. the entire J portion of Gen. 1-12, which by Wellhausen, Budde, Kuenen and Kittel is supposed to have come into its present form from a combination of two sources (see pp. 59-62).

2) Cases in which (a) critics differ as to the particular document to which a given verse should be assigned; e. g. (1) Gen. 7:23b (= P) is given to J by Bud., Kuen., Del., and Kautzsch and Socin;\* (2) 7:6a (= P) is given to R by Well.; (3) 11:28 and 30 (= J) is given to P by Well. and K. and Soc.; (b) the variations are very minute, the evidence either way being so slight as to make it difficult to determine the real place; e. g. (1) 11:31 **מאיר כשרים**, given by Dil. to R, by Bud. to J<sup>2</sup>, but by Del. and Kitt. regarded as P; (2) **חם אבי** (9:22) = R (not J) by Well., Bud., Kuen.; so (3) **כל בני** (10:21) = R (not J) by same; (4) 10:16f, 18b = R<sub>d</sub> (not J) by same; (5) 10:9 = J (not R) by Bud. and Kuen.(?); etc.

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\* *Die Genesis, mit Aeusserer Unterscheidung der Quellschriften.* 1888.

3) Cases in which evidence is by some thought to exist of the employment of earlier sources, which, however, have been so thoroughly worked over as to become hardly recognizable; e. g. (1) 1:2-2:4a (= P) is supposed by Well., Bud., Kuen. to contain such material, some even supposing that this earlier source is J<sup>2</sup>, a view consistent only with the theory that J is older than P; (2) 5:22-24 (= P) is claimed by Budde to be from some such earlier source; etc.

**Remarks.** Touching these variations the following points deserve consideration:

1. In view of the remarkable degree of unanimity which exists, too much emphasis should not be laid upon the comparatively few cases in which there is a difference of opinion. Omitting the cases under 1) and 3) above in which, while recognizing a particular passage as, e. g. J, certain critics still more minutely analyze the material, or suppose the existence of earlier sources, no longer distinguishable, we find that out of a total of 304 verses, there are not more than twenty in reference to which critics differ.

2. The character of the differences shows that they are due largely to the writers' views of the relation of the various documents to each other. In this way, at all events, many of them may be accounted for.

3. The chief difficulty exists in reference to the work of the Redactor. This, in the nature of the case, must always remain more or less indefinite, although the documents themselves may be distinguished from each other with much satisfaction. It is to be observed, however, that, handy as it may seem to credit to the account of the Redactor whatever causes trouble by its presence elsewhere, it cannot well be denied that the work attributed to him is exactly what would have been expected under all the circumstances.

## II. The Analysis of Gen. 1-3 (Creation, Paradise, the Sin and Curse).

The first three chapters contain two distinct accounts of creation,—(1) that of P, Gen. 1:1-2:4a (see above); (2) that of J, Gen. 2:4b-3:24. The evidence of this distinction is four-fold, viz. the language, the style, the material, and the theology. This evidence will be considered in order. In general, the points presented will be only those furnished by the particular chapter under consideration. Sometimes, however, it will be necessary to include material belonging to subsequent chapters, in order to show the harmony of that which is being considered with the later matter; and because the chapter in question may present matter which, although in harmony with what follows, when taken by itself is hardly sufficient in amount to exhibit clearly the point under consideration.

1. *The Language.*—Each of the two sections, as divided above, is seen to have certain words which are not found, or are rarely found, in the other. It is conceded that considerable difference may exist between two passages in respect to vocabulary, without furnishing an argument for different authorship, since such variations may often be accounted for on the ground of different subject, different circumstances, etc. Still, when they are so many and so marked, when they occur in what purports to be a treatment of the same subject, and when, moreover, the differences of vocabulary coincide in a most remarkable manner with differences of style, material, etc., it is believed that the explanations usually given upon the supposition of a single author are insufficient.

## 1) LANGUAGE OF P.

To save space, the general usage of each word is given when it is taken up for the first time.

(1) בְּרֵאשִׁית (1:1): probably in construct relation with following clause; if used absolutely, it is peculiar, J (also E\*) using בְּתוֹחֶלֶה (cf. Gen. 13:8; 48:18,20; Jud. 1:1).

(2) בָּרָא (1:1): occurs ten times in 1:1-2:4a; 5:1 (P); the only word used by P when creation proper is spoken of; found in Hex. outside of P only in Gen. 6:7 (J); Ex. 34:10; Dt. 4:32; Num. 16:30, in all of which there are evident traces of the work of R or Rd (but used largely in later prophets; e. g., twenty-one times in the second Isaiah); J uses עָשָׂה and יָצַר, words more general, or implying manipulation.

(3) אֱלֹהִים (1:1): thirty-six times in this passage; relatively as frequent in P up to Ex. 6:3, after which it is used only in certain formulas, e. g. רִוּחַ אֱ, or as a common noun; before Ex. 6:3, P never uses יְהוָה (the י in Gen. 17:1; 21:1b being due to R, as proved by Ex. 6:2-4, and accounted for by the use of ״ in immediate proximity), but after Ex. 6:3, always. [Cf. use of יְהוָה by J (below).]

(4) תָּדוּר, כְּדוּר, תְּדוּר (1:2): only here in Pent., the latter elsewhere only in Is. 34:11; Jer. 4:23.

(5) תְּהוֹם (1:2): also in 7:11; 8:2; cf. the expr. in 49:25; Dt. 33:18.

(6) יִבְרָל (1:4): occurs in P, 1:1,4,6,7,14,18; Ex. 26:33; Lev. 1:17; 5:8; 10:10; 11:47; 20:24,25,26; Num. 8:14; 16:9,21; elsewhere in Hex. only in Dt.; J uses פָּרַר.

(7) רָקִיעַ (1:6): nine times in this ch.; elsewhere, in all seven times, in Ezek., Dan., Ps. 19 and 150; stem רָקַע only in P, Ex. 39:3; Num. 17:3,4.

(8) מִקּוֹה (1:19): also Ex. 7:19; Lev. 11:36; elsewhere eight times, in Jer., Kgs., Chron. and Ezra.

(9) דָּשָׁא (1:11): not in J or E; in all fourteen times, Dt. 32:2; 2 Sam., 2 Kgs., Job, Ps., etc.

(10) מִן (1:11): in P, 1, nine times; 6:20, three times; 7:14, four times; Lev. 11, nine times; elsewhere only Dt. 14, which corresponds to Lev. 11.

(11) מֵאֵרֶת (1:14,15,16): only in this passage in this sense; in Ex. 25:6; 27:20; 35:8,14,23; Lev. 24:2; Num. 4:9,16 (all P) with reference to golden candlestick.

(12) וַיִּתֵּן (1:17): this loose and general sense, instead of שָׂם or שִׁית, is claimed to be peculiar to P, as compared with J.

(13) שָׂרַץ (1:20 verb and noun): outside of P only once, viz., Dt. 14:19, which corresponds to Lev. 11; Gen. 1 three times; 7:21 twice; 8:17; 9:7; Ex. 1:7; 7:28; Lev. 5:2; 11, (fifteen times); 22:5; J and E use רָבַב or רִבְבָה; cf. 6:1 and Ex. 1:7 with Ex. 1:10,20.

(14) תְּנִינִים (1:21): in P only; cf. Ex. 7:9,10,12 (P) with Ex. 4:3-5(J); and this passage with Gen. 3:1-3 (J) and Num. 21:6-9 (E) where נָחַשׁ is used.

(15) הִרְמַשֶּׁת (1:21): in 6:7; 7:23 (J), but this is work of R (see above); elsewhere in Hex. (exc. Dt. 4:18), in P, viz., Gen. 1, seven times; 6:20; 7:8,21; 8:17 (twice), 19 (twice); 9:3; Lev. 11:44,46; 20:25.

(16) פָּרוּ וּרְבוּ וּמָלְאוּ (1:22): a phrase only found in P in Hex., though often with modifications, e. g. 1:22,23; 8:17; 9:1,7; 17:6,20; 28:3; 35:11; 47:27; Ex. 1:7; cf. the somewhat different use of פָּרָה by J, Gen. 26:22.

(17) חֵית הָאָרֶץ (1:24): also 1:25,30; 9:2,10 (twice); only in P; cf. חֵית הַשָּׂדֶה in J, 2:19,20; 6:1:14; and in E, Ex. 23:11,29.

(18) צֶלֶם (1:26): 1:26,27 (three times); 5:3; 9:6; Num. 33:52; all P.

(19) רָרוּ (1:26): elsewhere in P, 1:28; 25:43,46, 53; Lev. 26:17; cf. Num. 24:19 incorporated by E; and Dt. 20:20.

(20) רָמוֹת (1:26): in Hex. only here, and 5:1-3 (P); stem רָכַח only in P; Num. 33:56.

(21) זָכָר (1:27) *male*: exc. Dt. 4:16, and 15:19 only in P (fourteen times in Gen., four times in Ex., seventeen times in Lev., eighteen times in Num., twice in Josh.); J uses אִישׁ and perhaps twice Ex. 34:19,23 (J?) a form of the verb זָכַר; in Gen. 7:3a (cf. this part with the prec.

\* E represents a second prophetic writer who had many of the characteristics of J, but of whom few, if any, traces appear in Gen. 1-12. This writer was later combined with J, hence the symbol JE, which will appear frequently.

verse, where we have twice **אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ**, Ex. 18:11-16 (neither J nor E, but JE or Rd), the influence of R is evident; in Ex. 23:17 (E?) = Ex. 34:23 a form of **זָכַר** occurs.

(22) **נִקְבָּה** (1:27): except Dt. 4:16, only in P, Gen. 5:2; 6:19; (7:3 = R); 7:9,16; Lev., twelve times; Num. 5:3; 31:15, all P.

(23) **זָכַר וְנִקְבָּה** (1:27): a phrase not in JE, which has **אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ** only.

(24) **כָּבַשׁ** (1:23): in Hex. in P only, Num. 32:22,29; Josh. 18:1; elsewhere very late.

(25) **אָכַל** (1:20): also 1:30; 6:21; 9:3; Ex. 16:15; Lev. 11:39; 25:6; cf. **מָאֵל** in J 2:9; 3:6; **אָכַל** frequently in Gen. 41-44.

(26) **צַבָּא** (2:1) *host*: except Gen. 21:22,32 (J) (in title of Pichol) and Josh. 5:14,15 (E?) (title of angel), only in P, where it occurs eighty-nine times.

(27) **שָׁבַת** (2:2): in JE, six times, including the

doubtful passage, Ex. 23:12 = 34:21; in P, sixty-four times.

(28) **מְלֹאכָה** (2:2): except Gen. 38:14 ("herd"), Ex. 22:7,10 ("goods"), both of which are J or E; and Gen. 39:11 (thoroughly worked over by R); only in P, in all fifty-six times (generally = "work").

(29) **קָדַשׁ** (2:2): except in JE in Ex. 19:10,14, 22; 20:8; Josh. 8:5; and Num. 11:18 (J or Rd?), Josh. 7:13 (Rd), only in P, in all seventy-three times.

(30) **תּוֹלֶדֶת** (2:4a): formula of introduction of each of P's chapters of the patriarchal period (duplicated in case of Esau by R, 36:1 = 36:9); from creation to Abram five "generations;" from Abram to Jacob, five; Gen. 2:4; 5:1; 6:9; 10:1; 11:10; 11:27; 25:19; 36:1 (= 36:9); 37:2; cf. Num. 3:1, which is a later edition (P?) of P.

## 2) LANGUAGE OF J.

(1) **עָשָׂה** (2:4b): for this P uses **בָּרָא** (see above).

(2) **יְהוָה** [אלהים] (2:4b): for this P uses **אלהים**. The **אלהים** which follows **י** in this section was inserted by R, who by this very peculiar method and, except as a very emphatic appositive, un-Hebraic expression, shows a purpose to unite two entirely distinct accounts. The contrast is no less striking between **א** in ch. 1 and **א** in chs. 2 and 3, than it would have been between **א** and **י**. The use of **י** by J is very regular. Exceptions may easily be classified and explained, e. g., (1) when a foreigner speaks who is not supposed to have known the personal name of Israel's God, as in Gen. 39; (2) when there is a special reason for concealment of the name, as in the case of Joseph, Gen. 44; (3) when the use of **י** would be inappropriate, as in the mouth of the serpent, Gen. 3:1; 9:27; a few other cases might be cited, but this will suffice here.

(3) **שִׁיחַ הַשָּׂדֶה** (2:5): **שִׁיחַ** in Hex., only here and in Gen. 21:15 (E); **שָׂדֶה** (or **אֲדָמָה**) when P would be apt to use **אֲרִץ** (see above), cf. **חֵית הַשָּׂדֶה** 2:19,20; 3:1,14; **עֵשֶׂב הַשָּׂדֶה**, 2:5; 3:18.

(4) **בָּטָרִם** or **טָרִם** (2:5): once in P (and that P?) Lev. 14:38; in JE frequent, 27:4,33; 37:18; 41:50; 45:28; Ex. 1:19; 12:34; Josh. 2:8; 3:1.

(5) **צִמְחָה** (2:5): cf. **תּוֹצֵא** 1:12 (P); once in P<sup>2</sup>,

Lev. 13:37; in JE, Gen. 2:9; 3:18; 41:6,23; Ex. 10:5.

(6) **מִטָּר** (2:5): in JE, also 7:4; 19:24; Ex. 9:13,23,33,34; 16:4(?)

(7) **הָאֲדָמָה** (2:5): in P. only 1:25; 6:20; 9:2; Lev. 20:25 in expression **רִמְסֵה הָאֲדָמָה** (Lev. 20:24; Num. 32:11 (in an expression borrowed from JE); in JE, fifty-two times.

(8) **יָצַר** (2:7): in J also, 2:8,19; cf. **יָצַר** (noun) 6:5; 8:21; P uses **בָּרָא**.

(9) **נִפְחָה** (2:7): only herein Hex., other occurrences in Jer., Ezek., Hag., Mal., and Job, also Isa. 54:16.

(10) **אָף** (2:7): in JE forty times, not in P.

(11) **רוּחַ חַיִּים** (2:7): P has **רוּחַ חַיִּים** cf. above **א**; **רוּחַ** in 7:22 (J) the **רוּחַ** is by R; in E Josh. 11:11,14.

(12) **שׁוֹם** (2:8): P uses in many similar cases **נָתַן**, cf. 1:17.

(13) **הָאָדָם** (2:8): J treats it as a common noun, the **וְיִלְאָדָם** in 3:17,21 being for **אָדָם**; P as in 5:1 treats it as a proper noun.

(14) **נִחְמָד** (2:9): the stem in JE, Gen. 3:6; 27:15; Ex. 20:17 (twice); 34:24; Josh. 7:21(?); but not in P.

(15) **עוֹר** (2:18): eight times in JE, no occurrence in P.

(16) **נִגַּד** (2:18): once in P (Num. 2:2), twenty times in JE.

- (17) חֵית הַשְּׂרָה (2:10): see above under (3).  
 (18) בָּנָה (2:22): spoken of God (see later).  
 (19) סָגַר (2:21): used only in Hiph. by P (Lev. 13, 14); in JE, ten times; cf. סָכַר in 8:2 (P).  
 (20) הַפְּעֵם (2:23) *now*: J uses it in sing. and dual twenty-one times. In P, only pl.  
 (21) עַל-כֵּן (2:24): a common expression throughout J, e. g. 32:33.  
 (22) נָחַשׁ (3:1): in J also, 3:2,4,14; 49:17; Ex. 4:3; 7:15 = R; Num. 21:6,7,9 (three times); P uses תַּנִּין (see above).  
 (23) עָרִיִם (3:1): only here in Hex., elsewhere in Proverbs and Job.  
 (24) פָּן (3:3): cf. also 3:22; 11:4; 42:4, etc.  
 (25) פָּקַח (3:5): not in P, but in JE 3:5,7; 21:19; Ex. 4:11; 23:8.  
 (26) שָׂכַל (3:6): not in P, but in Gen. 48:14 (J?) Josh. 1:7,8 (D or JE).  
 (27) חָבָא (3:8): not in P, but in JE, 3:10; 31:27; Josh. 2:16; 6:17,25; 10:16,17.  
 (28) אִי or אִיָּה (3:9): not in P, but in JE, Gen. 4:9; 16:8; 18:9; 19:5; 22:7; 38:21; Ex. 2:20.  
 (29) לִבְלָתִי (3:11): common in J, not found in P.  
 (30) מָה זֹאת (3:13): cf. 4:10.  
 (31) אִרְוֹ (3:14): in P, only in Pl. part. used substantively, in the formula מִי הַמֵּאֲרִיִּים in the law of the ordeal of jealousy, Num. 5:13,19, 22,24,27; in JE regularly, Gen. 3:14,17; 4:11; 5:29; 9:25; 12:3; 27:29 (twice); 49:7; Ex. 22:27; Num. 22:6 (three times); 23:7; 24:9 (twice); Jos. 6:23; 9:23.  
 (32) שֵׁית (3:15): not in P (exc. Ex. 7:23, doubtful); in JE eighteen times.  
 (33) עָקַב (3:15): not in P; in J, Gen. 25:26; 49:17,19; Josh. 8:13.  
 (34) עֵצָב, עֵצְבוֹן, עֵצָב (3:16): stem not in P, in J, 3:17; 5:29; 6:6; 34:7; 45:5.  
 (35) הִרְרָה (3:16): not in P, but frequently (twenty-eight times) in JE; cf. וְהִלָּה וְהִתְהַלָּה.  
 (36) הִרְבָּה אֲרֻבָּה (3:16): also 16:10; 22:17 (R from J).  
 (37) לֵאדָם (3:17): see above, under (13).  
 (38) שָׁמַע לִקוֹל (3:17): not in P, but in JE also Gen. 16:2; Ex. 3:18; 4:8,9; 15:26; 18:24.  
 (39) בַּעֲבוּר (3:17): not in P (who uses לִמְעַן); in JE twenty-one times.  
 (40) עָתָה (3:22): in P, if at all, Num. 31:17; Josh. 9:19b (both doubtful); in JE ninety-seven times.  
 (41) גִּרַשׁ (3:24): in P only in Qāl (Lev. 21:7, 14; 22:13; Num. 30:10); in JE, seventeen times in Pl., once in Qāl.

*Remarks.*—1. Of the 396 forms in Gen. 1:1–2:4a, 135 occur chiefly in P, while over 100 are entirely unknown to J as here used; this calculation does not include formulas like **וַיְהִי-עֶרֶב** and **וַיֵּרָא א' כִּי-טוֹב**, etc.

2. Of the 499 forms in Gen. 2:4b–3:24, 119 are of words peculiar to J.

3. It is of course evident that not all the different words thus cited may be called characteristic. In many cases the words referred to occur but a few times. It is true, however, that after making allowance for this element, there still remains a certain amount of material which in a strict sense may be called *characteristic*. This is seen most clearly in those cases where each writer uses a different word to express practically the same thought; e. g., **וַיְהוּה** and **אֱלֹהִים**, **בָּרָא** and **חֵית הַשְּׂרָה** and **חֵית הָאָרֶץ**, **נָחַשׁ** and **תַּנִּין**; **יָצַר**, **עָשָׂה** and **עָשָׂה**, etc.

4. The argument from language, while at one time supposed to be the most important, is now regarded by critics as of least value, compared with other arguments. In weighing the value of such evidence, there must always be considered the question whether the writer, who has not used a given word, ever had occasion to make use of it.

2. *The Style.*—The first chapter of Genesis is supposed by most critics not to be original with P, but to have been incorporated by him in his work from some

outside source.\* If this is true, it should not be cited as a specimen of P's style. The sublimity and stateliness which characterize it are not to be found in so striking a degree in other portions of P's work. Still, whatever its source, the chapter has been thoroughly worked over and may fairly represent P, while ch. 2: 1-4a, which is eminently characteristic of P, plentifully supplies anything that may be lacking. Ch. 2:4b-8:25, on the other hand, is an excellent specimen of J. In what follows, the word "style" will be understood to include not only "form of expression," but "mode of conception."†

#### 1) THE STYLE OF P.

(1) Is characterized by a *systematic* (perhaps artificial) *arrangement of material*; this is seen in (a) the division into sections, of which this chapter, originally introduced by אלה תולדות, is the first of ten (all with the same introduction), five in one period (creation to Shem), and five in another (Terah to Jacob); (b) the structure of the cosmogony according to the days of the week, each marked by ויהי ערב וגו'; (c) the gradual leading up of the whole story to the institution of the Sabbath; (d) the progressive (really numerical) order of the material.

(2) Is *chronological, statistical, perhaps mechanical*; this is seen in (a) the ten-fold division into sections; (b) the seven-fold division of the cosmogony; (c) the order of creation, e. g., man depending upon and following the animal world, the animal world following the vegetable, the vegetable world following the appearance of "dry land," etc.; compare the lists of names and figures given in the genealogical tables of ch. 5, etc., and the enumeration of census, etc. (see later).

(3) Is *minute, precise, scientific*; this is seen in (a) the way in which the different species of the vegetables and animals are classified, cf. vs. 11, 12; 24, 25 (note the three classes); 29, 30; (b) the repetition of the full description every time the thing is mentioned (cf. the same verses, and also 2:2, 3); (c) the separation of each class from every other by the addition of למינה or למינו; (d) the enumeration of the horological functions of the heavenly bodies in v. 14b.

(4) Is *rigid, stereotyped, condensed*; this is seen in (a) such phrases as אלה תולדות; (b) ויהי ערב ויהי בקר; (c) וירא א'; (d) יהי... ויהי; (e) ויקרא מלאכתו; (f) ויהי כן; (g) ובין...; (h) ויברך אתם א'; (i) אשר עשה; (j) entire absence of the poetical, or even of the descriptive element, there being no metaphors or figures; (k) lack of the perspective in narrative (cf. especially what is to follow); (l) the ability to reduce so much material to so small space; (m) in the condensed framework which is found everywhere except in the case of a very few particular points (to be noted later) to which he gives special attention.

\* There are some indications which point to the Assyrian account of creation as this source; but as yet little can be said with definiteness.

† References are not inserted except where absolutely necessary, because (1) space is limited, (2) the matter is familiar to all, (3) subsequent cases will be cited where they come up.



(5) *Is verbose and repetitious*; this is seen in (a) the stereotyped formulas already referred to; (b) the repetition of v. 11 by 12; of 14,15, by 17,18; of 20 by 21; of 22 by 28; of 24 by 25; of 26 by 28; (c) the fullness of vs. 28-30; (d) still greater fullness of 2:1-3 (if the unnecessary words were omitted, how much would remain?); (e) the particularity of details with which the different species of the vegetable and animal world are classified, vs. 11,12,24,25,29,30; (f) the use (וְלַמִּינֵהוּ) in each specification, etc. This characteristic is so marked indeed as to render the material (especially in later passages, e. g. Num. 7:1-89, which is filled out by the repetition twelve times over of the same formula of seven verses), really wearisome.

(6) *Is generic*, dealing with the class rather than the individual; this is seen in (a) the creation of the race male and female; (b) the creation of the world, the heaven and earth, every tree, every herb "after its kind," etc., etc.; (c) the formal institution of law which is the climax of every representation (see below on the other hand the peculiarly "individual" style of J's representation).

*Remark.*—The examination of the material shows that this *verbose and repetitious* character is not inconsistent, as at first thought might be supposed, with its *stereotyped and condensed* character. The two features work well together, the first characterizing the form of expression, the second, the mode of conception.

## 2) THE STYLE OF J.

(1) *Is free and flowing*, even from the beginning, (2:4b); the writer has no order marked by characteristic phrases, but passes gradually and almost imperceptibly from the description of one event to that of another. There is no classification. Man, the important figure, is taken up first, everything else grouped around him.

(2) *Is characterized by an abundance of stories and traditions*; since it is to this writer we are indebted for the great number of those pleasing narratives which have made the patriarchal history so attractive; compare the stories of the serpent and the fall, the ejection from Eden, the cherubim and flaming sword, and later, of Cain and Abel, etc., etc., while no figures or dates are found, except those of a most general character.

(3) *Is picturesque, poetical*; the opening words depicting a scene for the imagination. Instead of a carefully tabulated enumeration of the different orders of created beings in regular graduation, the simpler first, the more complex afterward, there is given a *picture*, the central figure of which is *the first man*, the background being formed by a few hasty but masterly touches. Not "in the beginning," but before there was any plant of the field, or any herb, or any rain, or any man, was the time when Yahweh made earth and heaven. The scene was an arid waste, dry earth, because Yahweh had not yet caused rain to fall; there was no vegetation, because as yet there was no man to till the ground. But a mist arises

and moistens the ground; clay is taken and moulded into the form of a man; breath is blown into his nostrils; a garden is planted, trees made to grow in it, rivers made to flow in it, while the man tends and tills it. The remainder of the scene is familiar and need not be presented. The whole is poetical in the strictest sense.

(4) *Is highly anthropomorphic*, abounding in the most familiar representations of God as "walking," "breathing," "taking a rib," "planting," "bringing animals to man," etc., (see under "material" below).

(5) *Is prophetic, that is, predictive and didactic*; as seen in (a) the protevangelium, 3:15,16, the basis of all predictions; compare the fact that the predictions of the Hexateuch, as will appear, belong largely to this author; (b) the peculiar adaptability of all his material for purposes of religious instruction; (c) the strikingly prophetic spirit shown not only in the selection of his material, but as well in the presentation of it.

(6) *Is individual rather than generic*, as seen in (a) the creation of a certain particular first man and first woman; (b) the creation of a certain particular garden, certain river, etc.; (c) the simple and definite outcome of his representations, not in some formal institution of law, but in "therefore a man leaves his father and mother," etc. (2:24), or "therefore the name of that place was called" many times, or "therefore the children of Israel eat not of the sinew that shrank," etc. (32:33).

3. *The Material*.—The characteristics of style cited above are in some particulars applicable also to "material." Here arises again the question of the origin of P's "creation-story." But this may be set aside and the material considered just as it now stands. Space may be saved by taking the two accounts together:

1. P's account proceeds from the *lower to the higher*, the vegetable world—the moving world of meteoric creatures—the population of sea and air—the population of land—man. J starts with the highest; for, as he distinctly states (2:5-7), when the first man was created there was no plant or shrub in existence. *After* man (cf. 2:7,8) came vegetation, which man was to maintain; then came the animals.

2. In P, vegetation appears only when the superabundance of water has been removed (1:10,11); in J, there can be no vegetation until the dry ground has received moisture (2:5,6) (and man has been created).

3. In P, man and woman are created together (1:27), and so definite is the statement as to lead some to suppose the idea of the writer to have been that man was created an hermaphrodite. In J, man is created (2:7); then vegetation comes (2:9), then animals (2:19), and only when the animals have been brought to man and named (2:20) is woman formed from a rib taken from the side of the man (2:21,22).

4. In P, ch. 1:28 man is given at the very outset the earth to subdue and hold in subjection. In J, chs. 2, 3 he reaches this position through sin and punishment, is degraded to it after having occupied a higher place. Cf. 1:29, where the herb of the ground and the fruit of the tree are given him for food, with 3:13, where he is degraded from the position in which the fruit of trees is his food (here no labor was involved, cf. the legends of the Golden Age) to one in which he is obliged to labor, for "in the sweat of thy nostrils thou shalt eat the herb of the field." In 1:29 this was a part of his blessing; in 3:13 it is a part of his curse.

5. In P, the material is generic (see under style); in J, it is individual.

6. In P, man is created in God's image to rule over all the earth (1:27,28), that is, to have knowledge (for sovereignty and knowledge are the same); in J, it is sin for man to seek to be as God (3:22), to know the world.

7. In P mankind is already installed over his dominion, a populous race, with no premonition that it is necessary first to go back again to the time when there was no vegetation, and when Yahweh must take up a process of creation by personal manipulation, and man must pass through a complex tragedy to come out finally at a place very similar to that in which ch. 1:31 left him; in J, there is no reference whatever to the details of the chapter just preceding, nor to the institution of the Sabbath; the moulding of animals from the ground is narrated without a hint of the creation already related. There is no indication in either account that they stand related.

8. In P, the universe is conceived of as a diving-bell in water—**תהום** (1:2); the vaulted roof is the **רקיע השמים** (1:6), with the **יבשה** (1:10) as the floor (cf. how the flood is produced in P, by water let in from top and bottom at once (7:11; 8:2a), the sluice-gates (**מעינות**) in the floor (**תהום**) broken up, and the openings (**ארכות**) of the heavens opened); in J, the earth is an indefinite extent of dry plain upon which water must be poured by Yahweh (cf. J's account of the flood, brought about simply by pouring rain down upon this plain (7:4,12; 8:2b)).

9. In P, the record is full of accurate measurements, systematic chronologies (referring now to material, not to style), but all trace of color is excluded; while of J the most essential element is story.

*Remarks.*—1. Some say that the differences here indicated are obtained by a forced exegesis in accordance with a theory. It is claimed, however, that the forced exegesis is found rather in the commentaries which, upon the supposition that these accounts were written by one author, have been compelled to reconcile them literally to each other? Do not the above statements rest, in every case, upon the natural meaning of the passage in its connection? Which is the correct order? (1) to decide that the two accounts must have been the work of one writer, and to interpret the language in such a way as to accord with this decision? or (2) to interpret the language just as it stands, and from this interpretation to decide whether one man could have written both?

2. Differences may be *contradictions*, but are not necessarily such. The acceptance of the existence of these differences does not mean that the two accounts are absolutely contradictory, that, consequently, neither is of any value, and that the Redactor who placed them side by side was a fool. They represent *different* conceptions; and if they had not been very different, if they had been practically the same, the Redactor would never have given us both.\*

3. It is not to be supposed that, in every case, the entire material of the original documents has been transmitted to us. When two documents covered the same ground in practically the same way, one was taken, the other omitted. When one document presented the material in different way from the other, either (1) that account was selected which seemed to the Redactor best to convey the truth as he understood it, or (2) as when the accounts were very different, both were given; of this latter method of procedure, viz. giving the narrative of the same event as it appeared in two or even three distinct documents, there are supposed to be at least twelve or fifteen cases in the Book of Genesis.

4. *The theology.* It will be possible only to indicate in a word the characteristic features; the development here of each idea is manifestly impracticable.†

#### 1) THE THEOLOGY OF P.

(1) The spirit is strictly *monotheistic*; the language of 1:26 in no way opposes this. Nothing could be more marked than the care which the writer takes to avoid any expression which might seem even to suggest a polytheistic idea. The absolute supremacy of the Creator is manifest.

(2) *Creation* is described by ברא, alternating with עשה; but there is obvious avoidance of the anthropomorphic terms of J (לקח, יצר, נפח, etc.). The simple command is יהי, and the fulfillment, יהי-כן. The divine activity is limited to command and approval.

(3) So far as concerns *the relations of God and man*, the former is so much exalted above the latter whom he has made in his own image and blessed and appointed to dominion over all the earth, that any thought of divine jealousy, so common throughout antiquity, is entirely foreign. Man is given a divine capacity, and having received this, is assigned a divine destiny, viz. to subdue the world and to rule over it (Gen. 1:26).

(4) As to attributes of God, *power and benevolence* are emphasized; a power which has but to speak and creation springs into existence, a benevolence which appears in the blessing pronounced upon man, and in the satisfaction with which the work, when finished, is regarded. (Cf. the frequently recurring "and it was good.")

\* See a very valuable presentation of the point in HEBRAICA, Vol. I., No. I., by Prof. Hermann L. Strack, "The Higher Criticism, a witness to the Credibility of the Biblical Narrative."

† Cf. Ewald, *Old and New Testament Theology*. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1888, pp. 118-139.

(5) A marked feature, already noted, is the *progressive revelation* which P presents. Here we may anticipate. The creation account is intended to reach its climax in (a) the *institution of the Sabbath*; a genealogy of ten generations follows, and then comes (b) the *institution of the Noachic covenant, the law of bloodshed* (9:1-7); another genealogy of ten generations and then (c) the *institution of the circumcision* (17); still later (d) the *Mosaic ceremonial institutions* (Ex. 25, Num. 10, and Num. 26-36); and finally (e) the fulfillment of the divine obligation in the covenant in the *apportionment of the promised land* (Josh. 14-22). This is the ground-work; the history given serves only to set forth and connect.

## 2) THE THEOLOGY OF J.

(1) The spirit may be *monotheistic*, but the monotheism is not so rigidly exhibited as in P. There is only one supreme being, but in the representation there are other beings whose rights are threatened by the presumption of "the man" (3:22; cf. 11:6,7). The cases here cited are quite different from that in 1:26,27 (cf. above).

(2) *Creation* is represented, however this representation may be interpreted, as the work of some one endowed with supernatural powers, but hardly as the work of an "infinite" being. In each act, the means employed is indicated, viz., clay (2:7), or a rib (2:21), or skins (3:21). This is seen everywhere in J; cf. the plagues of Egypt, which are universally brought about by natural means, Yahweh causing a strong east wind to blow, in order to bring the locusts (Ex. 10:19), or to drive back the sea (Ex. 14:21). P nowhere attributes to God the use of such means; but rather "he commanded and it stood fast." It is impossible to suppose that the author who in ch. 1 represents God as saying so majestically אור ויהי אור ויהי אור יְהי' כֵן; יְהי' הַמַּיִם.... יָקוּוּ הַמַּיִם, etc., should in ch. 2 represent this same God as laboriously gathering his materials, preparing them (e. g., "moistening the clay") and shaping them by personal manipulation. Shall we understand that the writer first prepared the account given in ch. 1 (cf. especially 1:27 which has so justly been praised for its noble simplicity and disdain of means), and then added, as his own explanation of this sublime account of the origin of the race, the details contained in 2:7,21,22? Granting that ch. 1 may be "reconciled" with modern science, will anyone attempt, has anyone attempted to reconcile ch. 2? And yet, why not, if the latter presents the same ideas as the former?

(3) In contrast with P, man is on *free and even confidential terms with God*, as is seen throughout the narrative. Nor is this to be explained upon the ground of his innocence, for, later, it is everywhere the same in J. Cain in ch. 4 "talks back" in a manner still more free and independent, while Abraham in ch. 18 is respectful but at the same time familiar. In J the man is always nearer the level of his "Maker" than in P.

(4) So far as concerns the *attributes* of God the representation, however interpreted, is not so clear and distinct (see above). When man has eaten the fruit

and thus gained one superhuman attribute, viz., *wisdom* (8:7), there is danger that he will gain another such attribute, viz., *immortality* (8:22); and that this may not happen he is driven forth from Eden (3:23). Add to this (a) the fear of Cain that he is to be sent where Jehovah cannot protect him (4:14), (b) the fear of Jehovah and those with him that man, if let alone, will become so strong as that "nothing will be withholden from them" (11:6); (c) the story of Jacob wrestling with the angel (32:22-32) and of the touching of his thigh because he was likely to prevail,—and the inference is that the attributes of Yahweh are not as definite or as strongly felt as were those of Elohim (in ch. 1).

(5) While P understands the name יְהוָה to have been revealed only in Moses' time (Ex. 6:3), and the conception of God which this name conveys to have arisen then for the first, J treats it, together with the rite of sacrifice, as primeval. Besides עֶשֶׂה, לָקַח, and יָצַר as instances of his anthropomorphism, there may be cited וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ אֶת קוֹל יְהוָה מִתְהַלֵּךְ בֵּן הַיּוֹם, and it is an open question whether לְרוּחַ הַיּוֹם does not mean "for the breeze of the day," implying that the walk was taken preferably in the evening for climatic reasons. Here, too, belongs 2:21, in which the "deep sleep" is brought about not as a kind of anæsthetic for the surgical operation, but (cf. Gen. 19:17, "look not behind"; 32:27, the dread of daybreak; and the prevailing opinion that the sight of Yahweh would be followed by death) on the ground that the heavenly ones desired to be unobserved in their working. According to the natural interpretation, ch. 2:18-23 places Yahweh in the attitude of making various attempts to meet the wants of man. Just as in 11:5; 18:20-22, he is represented as resorting to personal inspection to ascertain something of which he is ignorant, so here he resorts to an experiment.

*Remarks.*—1. Reference has been made to the *interpretation* of ch. 2:4b-8, and similar passages. Whether these accounts be denominated "myth," "legend," "allegory," "idealized history," or "symbolical representation of real fact," it is nevertheless true that such conceptions are never found in P.

2. The question of the relative age of documents which present such different, though not necessarily contradictory, conceptions of God, does not properly come up at this time; it may, however, be referred to. While the majority of critics seem to be settling down to the idea that J's conception is that which stands nearer to polytheism, P's being the result of thought and spiritual development, the treatment of Ewald (cited above) is a strong presentation of the other view that P in its simplicity is the older, J being the later.

3. The Redactor found no difficulty in combining these two conceptions, for to him, as to all the world, both were true. J's ideas of God, which, regarded from one point of view, seem slightly removed from paganism, must be estimated quite differently, if studied in the light of the gradual revelation of himself which God, in his wisdom, saw fit to make.

### III. The Analysis of Genesis 4 and 5 (Cain and Abel, Lamech's Song, Adam's Descendants).

The fourth chapter (J) contains an account of Adam's descendants through Cain, a genealogical table of seven generations branching into three, with the stories of Cain and Abel and the song of Lamech; to this is to be added 5:29. The fifth chapter (P) except v. 29 contains an account of Adam's descendants through Seth, a genealogical table of ten generations branching into three.

*I. The Language.*—Only new words will be noticed except when something of special interest occurs.

#### 1) THE LANGUAGE OF J.

- (1) הָאָדָם (4:1): cf. above under "Language of J" (18); J employs sparingly proper names, e.g. not "Deborah" (E in 35:8), but "Rebekah's nurse" (24:59); not "Eliezer" (E in 15:2), but "Abram's servant" (24:2); not "Potiphar" (E in 37:36), but "an Egyptian," 39:2 (39:1, so far as it is identical with 37:36, is E, not J) and so, not "Adam" (see, however, 4:25, probably due to J's) (P) but "the man"; cf. 5:2,3,4,5 (P); note also that אֶת־חַוָּה is inserted by R, cf. 3:20; 4:17,25.
- (2) יָדָע (4:1): a euphemism for sexual intercourse; also 4:17,25; 19:5,8; 24:16; 38:26. In P, only in the somewhat different case, Num. 31:17,18,35.
- (3) יָדָע (4:2): also 4:12; 8:10,12,21; Ex. 1:10; 10:29, and frequently in J; though, in this sense, rarely in P.
- (4) רָעָה (4:2): twenty-seven times in JE, perhaps once (Num. 14:33) in P.
- (5) עָבַר הָאֵרֶמֶת (4:2): cf. 2:5,15; 4:12; 5:29. Such phrases, e.g. "to plant or sow," "digging wells," "watering flocks," "keeping sheep," while frequent in J, are not found in P.
- (6) מִנְחָה (4:3): also (in JE) 4:4,5; 32:14,19,21,22; 38:10; 48:11,15,25,26; not in P until the institution of the ceremonial law (Ex. 29:41).
- (7) שָׁעָה (4:4,5): also Ex. 5:3; not elsewhere in Hex.
- (8) חֹרֶה (4:5,6): in JE, thirty-three times in verbal and substantive forms; in P, not found unless in the doubtful passage Num. 32:10,13,14.
- (9) רָבִץ (4:7): in JE, Gen. 29:2; 49:9,14,25; Ex. 28:5; Num. 22:27; not in P.
- (10) צֶעֶק (4:10): in JE, twenty-five times, all forms; not in P, who uses זָעַק and שָׁעָה; cf. Ex. 2:23b (P) with Ex. 3:7,9 (J).
- (11) פָּצַח (4:11): cf. Num. 16:30 (J or E) not in P.
- (12) כָּחַ (4:12): in JE, eleven times; not in P except Lev. 26:20.
- (13) וְיָלַד (4:18) *and was born*: J constantly uses לָרָ (Qāl) of the male, as the form to express "beget," while Puses הָוִילָד (Hiph.); cf. this chap., also 10:8,13, etc.; 22:20,23; with P in ch. 5 (throughout).
- (14) אָהֵל (4:20): cf. 9:27; 12:8; 13:3,5; 18:1,2,6,9,10; 24:67; 25:27; 26:25; 31:25,33,34; 38:19; 35:21 (J or E); but not in P before Ex. 16.
- (15) כְּנוֹר (4:21): also Gen. 31:27; not in P.
- (16) הָוָא אֵבִי (4:20): frequent in J's genealogies; cf. 4:21; 9:18,22; 10:21; 11:29; 19:37,38, etc.
- (17) שָׁם אֲחִיו (4:21): in J's genealogies (cf. 10:25); not in P.
- (18) הָאָזִין (4:23) *give ear*: also Num. 28:18; not in P.
- (19) פָּצַע (4:23): also Ex. 21:25; not in P.
- (20) יָלַד (4:23): in JE, thirty-one times.
- (21) חֲבוּרָה (4:23): also Ex. 21:25; not in P.
- (22) חָלַל (4:24) in sense of *to be inventor of, to be first to*: cf. 9:20; 10:8.
- (23) נָחַם (5:29) *comfort*: in JE, thirteen times, cf. especially Gen. 24:67 (J); 38:12 (J); 37:35 (twice) (E); not in P.
- (24) Note also the words in this chapter which had been mentioned before: תָּהָר (4:1); יְהוּה (regularly, cf. also 5:29); הָאֵרֶמֶת 4:3; 5:29; תְּשׁוּקָה (4:7); אֵי (4:9); עֵתָה (4:11); אָרֶר (4:11; 5:29); הָן (4:14); גֶּרֶשׁ (4:14); לְבִלְתִּי (4:15); שׁוֹת (4:25); עֲצָבוֹן (5:29).

## 2) THE LANGUAGE OF P.

Note (a) in 5:1, תולדות, ארם, ברא, אלהים, אדם; (c) in 5:3, אדם, הוליד (not ילד), רמות, רמות; (b) in 5:2, זכר, נקבה, ברא, ויברך, צלם; (d) in 5:22,24, also את-הנהלך, cf. 6:2.

*Remarks.*—1. In ch. 4 and 5:29, excluding proper names, there are 248 forms; of these (including words of all kinds, even the verb *היה* in all its forms, etc.) over sixty are either absolutely confined to JE or are very markedly characteristic of the “prophetic” portions. In this estimate portions of formulas and characteristics of style have not been reckoned.

2. In ch. 5 (omitting v. 29), excluding numerals (which might justly be counted as characteristic of P) and proper names, there are 181 words. Throwing out words forming part of formulas which are absolutely characteristic of P (for to include them would include the whole chapter except a few words in vs. 22, 24,32), there remain nearly fifty which are distinctly peculiar to P.

2. *The Style.*—It is necessary to call attention only to the more striking points.

## 1) THE STYLE OF P.

(1) *Is characterized by a systematic arrangement of material*, as seen in (a) the introductory formula (the second of ten) *אלה תולדות*; (b) the structure of the table, the end of each life being marked by *וימת* (note exception in v. 24); (c) the ten-linked genealogy branching from Noah, aged 500 years, the tenth link, into three (cf. ch. 11, which contains another ten-linked genealogy branching with Terah, aged 70 years, the tenth from Noah, into three again).

(2) *Is chronological, statistical*, as is seen from a mere glance at the contents of the chapter.

(3) *Is minute, precise, scientific*, as is seen in the extreme and absolute accuracy aimed at throughout the chapter, a minuteness in striking contrast with the fabulous and grotesque traditions and mythology of other nations.

(4) *Is rigid, stereotyped, condensed*, as is seen in (a) the exclusion of every digression; (b) the reduction of the material to the driest, barest framework possible, viz., a column of names and dates; (c) the absence of every semblance of life and color; (d) the fondness for set phrases; (e) the absence of historical perspective; (f) the use of this chapter as a thread of chronicle to connect ch. 1 with chs. 6-9, these chapters being, in the writer's opinion, the important ones; (g) the summary way in which Enoch's case, probably a long story, is expressed by the slight variation of “lived” to “walked with God” (5:24), and of “died” to “and he was not, for God took him” (5:24).

(5) *Is verbose, repetitious*, as seen in the monotonous “and he lived ——— years,” “and he begat ———,” “and he lived after he begat ———, ——— years,” “and he begat sons and daughters,” “and all the days of ——— were,” “and he died.”



(6) *Is generic*, as seen in the use of אָדָם mankind in 5:1,2, although by the very necessity of the genealogical method adopted, the word comes in v. 3 to be used in the individual sense of "Adam."

## 2) THE STYLE OF J.

(1) *Is free and flowing*, a feature which is better appreciated when we discover (see below under "material") that J is using in this chapter the same material employed by P in the chapter following.

(2) *Is characterized by the presence of stories and traditions*. Compare (a) the narrative of Cain and Abel (4:3-8); (b) the connecting of the various "arts" with Cain's descendants (4:20-22); (c) the introduction of Lamech's song (4:23,24); (d) the digressions from the genealogical list.

(3) *Is vivid, picturesque, poetical*; as seen in (a) the absence of all sameness; (b) the several scenes pictured; (c) the care with which the fact that a genealogical table is being given is covered up, appearing in but a single verse; (d) the insertion of a poetical fragment (cf. later cases); (e) the conversational element introduced throughout, as in vs. 6,10,13,15; cf. 3:9,10,11.

(4) *Is anthropomorphic* in the extreme, as seen in the intercourse between Yahweh and Cain, the details of which need not be given.

(5) *Is prophetic* in the proper sense of that word, viz., as furnishing religious instruction; note the teaching sought to be conveyed by the story of Cain and Abel, the account of the punishment of Cain, the description of the development of evil influences; but compare the lack of this element in ch. 5.

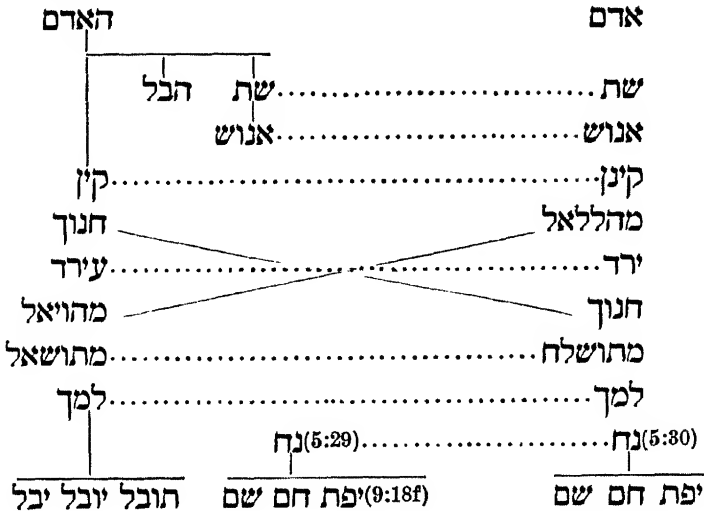
(6) *Is individual or localizing*, as seen in (a) 4:14, where Cain is driven out of the favored region אֶדֶם into the unknown אֶרֶץ; (b) 4:16, where Cain takes up his residence in a spot definitely related to Eden, cf. 2:8; 11:3.

(7) *Exhibits certain peculiar marks*, e. g. (a) the phrase גַּם הָיָא (4:26); (b) the expression "knew his wife, and she conceived and bare" (4:1,17,25); (c) the clause וְהָיָא הִיא or וְהָיָא and the name of some occupation, which follows a name of a person to introduce anything which it is desired to relate concerning that person (4:2b,17,20,21; cf. 4:26b with 9:20, הָיָא הָאִישׁ הָאֶדְמָה, and 6:4, הָמָּה הַגְּבֵרִים, with 10:9, הָיָא הִיא גִּבּוֹר), these phrases bearing witness to the author's purpose of tracing the effects of eating of the tree of knowledge.

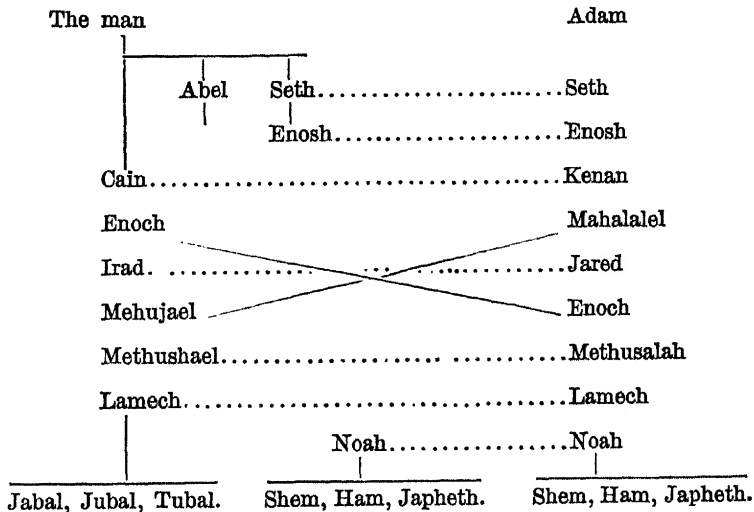
3. *The Material*. As remarked above, the material of both chapters is the same, with exactly the modifications which would be expected of two writers with the style and purpose which have been found to characterize P and J. Compare the two genealogies, placed side by side.

J (ch. 5).

P (ch. 4).



With the names as given in the revised version the table is as follows :



In reference to the material which thus forms the frame-work of both chapters and the form in which this material is given, the following points may be noted :

1) Whatever was the original source of 4:17-24 (cf. different views of critics), by its incorporation with J, this document, as the text now stands, comes to have a complete genealogy and also a fragmentary one, the former covering the development of the "evil" (?) line of Cain, and the latter, that of the "good" (?) line of Seth. We are to suppose that the links between Enosh (in this second genealogy) and Noah were lost, 5:29 and 6:5-7 showing that there was once a more complete account of sin and of corruption.

2) The work of R in these chapters was (a) the bringing of these two lines into contrast; (b) the probable insertion of 3:20;\* (c) the insertion also of עֹר (4:25) and of אַחֵר.... קִין

3) J's genealogy is in the first place a seven-membered one, ending in a triple division; but in addition to this he gives three (not including Abel, who died without issue) collateral names, viz., Seth, Enosh (4:25,26) and Noah (5:29), and a second triple division.

4) P's genealogy, on the other hand, is ten-membered (another instance of his fondness for the decimal system); but examination shows the extra three members to be these same three collateral names of J's second line; while of the two triple branches, he naturally chooses the second.

5) A comparison of the two lines shows that, as for the rest, they are identical, except that (a) there is a transposition of the names Mehujael and Enoch and (b) a slight alteration has taken place of קִינָן to קִינ, of מְהוּיָאֵל to מְהוּלָאֵל, of מְתוּשָׁלַח to מְתוּשָׁלָה, of עֵירָד to יָרָד, or of קִינָן to קִין, etc. It cannot be called a mere coincidence that the names are so nearly alike.†

6) While the two genealogies are practically the same, the differences are so great as to preclude the possibility of a single author having produced both; for granting that a writer might repeat a genealogy of ten generations in a tabular form, it is certain that he would not have altered the names and changed the order. On the other hand since the alterations are marked enough to take away the *glaring* character of the reduplication, the Redactor, whose work all through has been done in accordance with the custom of his times, that is, without the exhibition of a scientific purpose, would not hesitate to do here what he has done repeatedly later, viz., add the one to the other and preserve both. Here may be compared the large number of so-called duplicates in the book of Genesis, (see later).

7) Note in more detail the form and material of 5:29: (a) the sudden break in the rigid method of ch. 5; (b) the use of יְהוּרָה which proves that it cannot be from the author of Ex. 6:2,3; (c) נָחָם, in JE thirteen times, never in P; (d)

\* See Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, p. 79.

† Cf. the view that these changes are due to a desire on the part of the writer to give to the descendants of Cain names with a bad meaning, and to the descendants of Seth, names with a good meaning; Lenormant's *Beginnings of History*, pp. 185,186.

עֶצְבוֹ, in JE five times (including עֶצַב), never in P; (e) אָרֶר (see above); (f) אֲרָמָה for which P commonly employs אָרֶץ; (g) the reference in "the ground which Y. hath cursed," not to anything in ch. 1 or 5, but clearly to 3:17; (h) of "our work and toil of, etc.," to the same; (i) the reference of "comfort us. . . from the ground," etc., to Noah's future work, viz., not the flood, but 9:20,21,22, the discovery of the vine "which maketh glad the heart of man"; (j) the pun on the name of Noah (cf. below); (k) the prediction made,—all in the highest sense characteristic of J.

8) Note, on the other hand, in more detail the form and material of 5:1-3: (a) the close connection with 2:3, without a hint as to the contents of chs. 3,4; (b) the "blessing" (1:28) alluded to without any thought of its having been annulled by a curse (ch. 3); (c) the transmission of the "likeness of God" to his offspring as a matter of course; (d) the exclusion of all reference to Cain and Abel as Adam's sons before Seth, by the fact that (since everywhere the years enumerated before the patriarch "begat" are the years previous to the birth of his first son, the time after that in which the patriarch lives and "begets sons and daughters" is the time after the birth of his first born,) the genealogy deals only with descent through the first born (as do all of P's genealogies), Seth being consequently considered as Adam's first born; and if this is not the case, the 130 years have no meaning, the formula throughout the chapter is invalidated, the statement that Seth was born in the image and likeness of his father is meaningless (for would the writer say that Cain and Abel were born in some other image?); (e) the words and phrases זָכַר, דְּמוּת, אֱלֹהִים, בְּרָא, אָדָם, תּוֹלְדוֹת; (f) the statistical, chronological, rigid style,—all in the highest sense characteristic of P.

9. Once more, in reference to the material of ch. 4, note (a) the references to domestic life, and to secular employments (vs. 2,12,16,20,22); (b) the etymologies furnished (cf. 2:23), of Cain (4:1); Nod (4:12); Seth (4:25); Noah (5:29); cf. later those of Japheth (9:27); Babel (11:1-9); Beer-lahai-roi (16:14); Ishmael (16:11); Zoar (19:22); Moab and Ammon (19:37,38) nearly fifty in Genesis alone; (c) the apparent contradiction between 4:26 (J) and Ex. 6:3 (P).

10. The fact that the genealogy gives us the origin of the arts and of the tribes as they existed in the time of the writer, viz. Cain and the nomads (cf. Num. 24:22; Judg. 4:15); Jabal, the ancestor of all who *dwelt* (present) in tents; Jubal, of all present minstrels; Tubal, of all metal forgers of the present,—all this implies that there had been no interruption of the progress of the arts by a flood (which both P and J describe); cf. with this the parallel case of the origin given of the Nephilim in ch. 6 and their existence still in Num. 13 at Hebron. As will be seen later, there is evidence in this of the employment in J of material from a document which did not know of a deluge.

4. *The Theology.*—There is space only for a bare mention of the more important points.

#### 1) THEOLOGY OF P.

(1) In general, the same lofty and majestic ideas of God are furnished as those seen in ch. 1.

(2) Man is regarded as having been created in God's image; but there is no thought of his coming into rivalry or even into intimate relations with Deity.

(3) Moral degeneration is either denoted by the numerical method (age of a 1000 years being regarded as the maximum; and every life judged by that standard; or the nature of the death is a better indication, e. g., translation, of supreme goodness; perishing in flood, of wickedness) or is taken for granted until 6:11,12.

(4) True piety is conceived of as a "walking with God" (5:22,24; 6:9), a phrase which in J would be meaningless, who allows everybody to walk and talk with God; the reward of goodness is escape from death, translation (5:24).

#### 2) THEOLOGY OF J.

(1) The representations of Yahweh in this chapter, e. g., as assisting in childbirth (4:1), as indicating by his look and action (therefore present in person) his pleasure and displeasure (4:4), as in heated conversation with Cain (4:6 sqq.), as one absent from whom meant loss of protection (4:14), as giving a sign that, if killed, he shall be avenged seven-fold (4:15), as one from whose presence a man may go out (4:16), are in accordance with a conception of God which, however commentators may explain these representations, P could not and never did entertain.

(2) J assumes the name and conception of Yahweh to have existed from the beginning; just so the forms of sacrifice are taken for granted. Cain and Abel do nothing strange in bringing, without any instruction, a *מנחה* to Yahweh. Nowhere does J prescribe sacrifice. Certain directions are given about the altar, and certain abuses are prohibited, but sacrifice is left to the discretion of the worshiper. Abram, Isaac and Jacob offer sacrifices and are blessed. In P, no patriarch ever sacrifices or builds an altar, any more than he uses the name of Yahweh. All this was yet to be revealed. It is only when the ritual is instituted at Sinai, Aaron and his sons are ordained, the altar built, and fire has descended from heaven, that men *may* sacrifice.

(3) J seems to think that Cain should have had more knowledge than he exhibits. He should have known that Yahweh prefers a bloody offering; that he favors those who dwell in tents and have cattle, and looks with suspicion on the "man of the field" (cf. (a) Jacob, "a perfect man dwelling in tents;" but Esau, "a man of the field" (25:27); (b) the Rechabite (Jer. 35:6-10), who is the ideal pious man, owning neither house nor field, neither sowing nor reaping, but clinging to the old pastoral life; agriculture and city-building being part of that ill-fated progress the beginning of which was a taste of the tree of knowledge).

(4) J is interested in ethics, and so he presents with no uncertain significance the *guilt* of the murderer, against whose act even earth cries out, who is doomed to be deprived of the laws of protection, and who must, therefore, go out from the **ארמה** and wander a prey to any man like himself who may strike him down (cf. also the institution of the blood-revenge).

(5) J represents (4:26) public worship, feasts, sacrifices, etc., as now becoming general; while P (see above) places all this much later.

#### IV. The Analysis of Genesis 6:1-9:29 (the Deluge, etc.).

This section contains two entirely distinct accounts of the deluge, along with narratives of certain events immediately preceding and following the deluge. The material is analyzed as follows:

(1) To P is assigned 6:9-22; 7:6,11,13-16a,18-21,23b,24; 8:1,2a,3b-5,13a,14-19; 9:1-17,28,29.

(2) To J is assigned 6:1-8; 7:1,2,3 (in part), 4,5,7 (in part), 8,9 (in part),10,12, 16b,17 (in part), 22 (in part), 23 (in part); 8:2b,3a,6-12,13b,20-22; 9:18,19 (or R), 20-27 (see below).

(3) Of the material here assigned to J, the following is rather to be regarded as the work of still a third writer, incorporated by J, or joined to J by an editor: 6:1-4; 9:20-27.

(4) To the Redactor who combined the accounts of P and J, the following is assigned: (1) in 6:4 **וּגַם אַחֲרֵי-כֵן**; (2) in 6:7, **הַשָּׁמַיִם... מְאֹדָּם** and **בְּרֵאשִׁי**; (3) in 7:3, **זָכַר וַנִּקְבְּהָ**, perhaps the whole of 3a; (4) in 7:9, **אֱלֹהִים** and **זָכַר וַנִּקְבְּהָ**; (5) in 7:23, **הָאָרֶץ... מְאֹדָּם**; (6) 9:18,19(?).

(5) It is to be noted that (1) 7:23b (P) is made J by Bud., Kuen., and Del., Kautzsch and Socin; (2) 7:7-9 (J) is largely the work of R; (3) 7:17a (J) is made P by Bud. and Kuen.(?); (4) 7:6 (P) is made R by Well.; (5) 9:18,19 (J) is made R by Kautzsch and Socin; while 9:18b is made *Rd* by Well., Bud., Kuen., 18a and 19 remaining J.

In order that the analysis may be more easily appreciated, the text of the Revised Version is given, in which matter belonging to P is printed *in this type*; J's matter, in this type; the earlier source used by J, in this type; R's matter, IN THIS TYPE.

6:1. And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the ground, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all that they chose. And the Lord said, My spirit shall not strive with man for ever, for that he also is flesh: yet shall his days be an hundred and twenty years. The Nephilim were in the earth in those days, AND ALSO AFTER THAT, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them: the same were the mighty men of old, the men of renown. And the Lord saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him

at his heart. And the Lord said, I will destroy man WHOM I HAVE CREATED from the face of the ground; BOTH MAN, AND BEAST, AND CREEPING THING, AND FOWL OF THE AIR; for it repenteth me that I have made them. But Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord.

6:9. *These are the generations of Noah. Noah was a righteous man, perfect in his generations: Noah walked with God. And Noah begat three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. And the earth was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. And God saw the earth, and, behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth.*

6:13. *And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth. Make thee an ark of gopher wood; rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch. And this is how thou shalt make it: the length of the ark three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits. A light shalt thou make to the ark, and to a cubit shalt thou finish it upward; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof; with lower, second, and third stories shalt thou make it. And I, behold, I do bring the flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; every thing that is in the earth shall die. But I will establish my covenant with thee; and thou shalt come into the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee. And of every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be male and female. Of the fowl after their kind, and of the cattle after their kind, of every creeping thing of the ground after its kind, two of every sort shall come unto thee, to keep them alive. And take thou unto thee of all food that is eaten, and gather it to thee; and it shall be for food for thee, and for them. Thus did Noah; according to all that God commanded him, so did he.*

7:1. *And the Lord said unto Noah, Come thou and all thy house into the ark; for thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation. Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee seven and seven, the male and his female; and of the beasts that are not clean two, the male and his female; of the fowl also of the air, seven and seven, MALE AND FEMALE: to keep seed alive upon the face of the earth. For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and every living thing that I have made will I destroy from off the face of the ground. And Noah did according unto all that the Lord commanded him.*

7:6. <sup>1</sup>*And Noah was six hundred years old when the flood of waters<sup>2</sup> was upon the earth.* <sup>2</sup>*And Noah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him into the ark, because of the waters of the flood. Of clean beasts, and of beasts that are not clean, and of fowls, and of every thing that creepeth upon the ground, there went in two and two unto Noah into the ark, MALE AND FEMALE, AS GOD<sup>4</sup> commanded Noah.* <sup>5</sup>*And it came to pass after the seven days, that the waters of the flood were upon the earth. In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the month, on the same*

<sup>1</sup> Well. makes this sentence R.

<sup>2</sup> Kautzsch and Socin make this word a gloss.

<sup>3</sup> Vs. 7-9 were originally J, but have been worked over by R; this, as K. and S. say (p. 12), explains the discrepancy between the distinction of clean and unclean in v. 8, and the number two in v. 9. They are given as J. It might be better to represent as R.

<sup>4</sup> Sam., Targ., and Vulg. have יְהוָה.

<sup>5</sup> This verse has this position as a result of the Redactor's work, for it probably stood originally before v. 7.

*day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened. And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights. In the selfsame day entered Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons with them, into the ark; they, and every beast after its kind, and all the cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after its kind, and every fowl after its kind, every bird of every sort. And they went in unto Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh wherein is the breath of life. And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as God commanded him: and the Lord shut him in. AND THE FLOOD WAS FORTY DAYS UPON THE EARTH; and the waters increased, and bare up the ark, and it was lift up above the earth. And the waters prevailed, and increased greatly upon the earth; and the ark went upon the face of the waters. And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high mountains that were under the whole heaven were covered. Fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered. And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both fowl, and cattle, and beast, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man: all in whose nostrils was the breath of the spirit of life, of all that was in the dry land, died. And every living thing was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground, both man, and cattle, and creeping thing, and fowl of the heaven; and they were destroyed from the earth: and Noah only was left, and they that were with him in the ark. And the waters prevailed upon the earth an hundred and fifty days.*

*8:1. And God remembered Noah, and every living thing, and all the cattle that were with him in the ark: and God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters assuaged; the fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped, and the rain from heaven was restrained; and the waters returned from off the earth continually: and after the end of an hundred and fifty days the waters decreased. And the ark rested in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat. And the waters decreased continually until the tenth month: in the tenth month, on the first day of the month, were the tops of the mountains seen. And it came to pass at the end of forty days, that Noah opened the window of the ark which he had made: and he sent forth a raven, and it went forth to and fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth. And he sent forth a dove from him, to see if the waters were abated from off the face of the ground; but the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto him to the ark, for the waters were on the face of the whole earth: and he put forth his hand, and took her, and brought her in unto him into the ark. And he stayed yet other seven days; and again he sent forth the dove out of the ark; and the dove came in to him at eventide; and, lo, in her mouth an olive leaf pluckt off: so Noah knew that the waters were abated from off the earth. And he stayed yet other seven days; and sent forth the dove; and she returned not again unto him any more. And it came to pass in the six hundred and first year, in the first month, the first day of the month, the waters were dried up from off the earth: and Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and, behold, the face of the ground was dried. And in the second month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, was the earth dry.*

*8:15. And God spake unto Noah, saying, Go forth of the ark, thou, and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives with thee. Bring forth with thee every living*

<sup>e</sup> K. and S. make "And the flood was....upon the earth," P; "forty days," R; Dillmann makes the whole of it J.



*thing that is with thee of all flesh, both fowl, and cattle, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth; that they may breed abundantly in the earth, and be fruitful, and multiply upon the earth. And Noah went forth, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him: every beast, every creeping thing, and every fowl, whatsoever moveth upon the earth, after their families, went forth out of the ark. And Noah builded an altar unto the Lord; and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar. And the Lord smelled the sweet savour; and the Lord said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake, for that the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth; neither will I again smite any more every thing living, as I have done. While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease. And God blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth. And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air; with all wherewith the ground teemeth, and all the fishes of the sea, into your hand are they delivered. Every moving thing that liveth shall be food for you; as the green herb have I given you all. But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat. And surely your blood, the blood of your lives, will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it: and at the hand of man, even at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man. Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man. And you, be ye fruitful, and multiply; bring forth abundantly in the earth, and multiply therein.*

*9:8. And God spake unto Noah, and to his sons with him, saying, And I, behold, I establish my covenant with you, and with your seed after you; and with every living creature that is with you, the fowl, the cattle, and every beast of the earth with you; of all that go out of the ark, even every beast of the earth. And I will establish my covenant with you; neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of the flood; neither shall there any more be a flood to destroy the earth. And God said, This is the token of the covenant which I make between me and you and every living creature that is with you, for perpetual generations: I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth. And it shall come to pass, when I bring a cloud over the earth, that the bow shall be seen in the cloud, and I will remember my covenant, which is between me and you and every living creature of all flesh; and the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh. And the bow shall be in the cloud; and I will look upon it, that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that is upon the earth. And God said unto Noah, This is the token of the covenant which I have established between me and all flesh that is upon the earth.*

*9:18. And the sons of Noah, that went forth of the ark, were Shem, and Ham, and Japheth; and Ham is the father of Canaan.<sup>7</sup> These three were the sons of Noah: and of these was the whole earth overspread.*

*9:20. And Noah began to be an husbandman, and planted a vineyard: and he drank of the wine, and was drunken; and he was uncovered within his tent. And Ham, the father of<sup>8</sup> Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without. And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward,*

<sup>7</sup> Well., Bud., Kuen. make "and Ham is the father of Canaan" = R.

<sup>8</sup> Well., Bud., Kuen. make "And Ham the father of" = R.

and they saw not their father's nakedness. And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his youngest son had done unto him. And he said,

Cursed be Canaan;

A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.

And he said,

Blessed be the Lord, the God of Shem;

And let Canaan be his servant.

God enlarge Japheth.

And let him dwell in the tents of Shem;

And let Canaan be his servant.

9:28. *And Noah lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years. And all the days of Noah were nine hundred and fifty years: and he died.*

1. *The Language.* In order to save space, a briefer form of presentation will henceforth be adopted. The difference between J proper and the writer from whom he has probably taken 6:1-4; 9:20-27 will not be noticed.

#### 1) LANGUAGE OF P.

6:9, (1) אלה תולדות נח, see p. 23; (2) תמים, Josh. 10:13 (very doubtful) and Josh. 24:14 (E), not in JE, but in P nearly forty times; cf. תם as used by J (Gen. 25:27); (3) בדרתני, used only in sg. by JE (cf. 7:1), but in plur. by P forty-three times, usually in a form like this; התהלך את-א' (cf. 5:22,24) see p. 33; (5) אלהים.

6:10, (1) ויולד Hiph. instead of Qal, see p. 33. 6:11,12, (1) אלהים; (2) כל-בשר, also 6:13,17, 19; 7:15,16,21; 8:17; 9:11,15-17.

6:13, (1) אלהים; (2) משחית: כל-בשר, also in PJ. (cf. J's מרחו), also 6:17; 9:11,15.

6:14,15, (1) גפר, only here; (2) כפר, only here; (3) קומה, only in P eleven times.

6:16, (1) צהר not used in this sense by JE, who, however, use the dual ("noon"), cf. Gen. 48:16,25; cf. J's חלון, 8:8.

6:17, (1) ואני הנני (see below, p. 44), cf. on the other hand, 7:4; (2) המכול, note the use of article which presupposes an acquaintance with the story and of J, 7:4 and מי המכול, 7:7,10 (also P. 9:11), in which it is introduced as something which must be described beforehand that it may be understood; (3) שחת; (4) נשמת: כל-בשר (see above); (5) רוח חיים, cf. נשמת by J (or R) 7:22, corresponding to 2:7; (6) גוע, in P twelve times, not in JE, who use כות.

6:18, (1) הקים ברית, 9:9,11; 17:7,19,21; Ex. 6:4; also נתן 9:12; 17:2; Num. 25:12; cf. JE's ברית, 15:18; 21:27,32; 26:28; 31:44; Ex. 31:10, 27; Josh. 9:6,7,11,15,16; 24:25; (2) the expression, אלה וגו'.

6:19, (1) כל בשר; (2) זכר ונקבה.

6:20, (1) למינהו; (2) רמש.

6:21, (1) אכלה, cf. 1:20,30; 9:3; note also מאכל.

6:22, (1) אלהים; (2) עשה בן emphatic, not in JE; (3) צוה אתו (see below).

7:6, (1) the calculation בן-שש וגו' המכול (see above); (2) בן-שש וגו' המכול (see above); (3) מים על-הארץ cf. 6:17.

7:11, (1) the calculation; (2) תהום, see Gen. 1:2; (3) ארכות.

7:13-16a, (1) עצם = "self-same," cf. 17:23,26; (2) למינהו, cf. 1:24-26; (3) רוח חיים; (4) כל-בשר; (5) רמש; (6) זכר ונקבה; (7) אלהים; (8) כל-בשר; (9) צוה אתו, also 6:22, cf. J's צוהו (7:5).

7:18-21, (1) יגברו also 7:19,20,24, same thought as that just expressed in 7:17b; (2) מאד מאד; also 17:26,20; Ex. 1:7; Num. 14:7 (cf. Gen. 30:43); (3) the calculation עשרה וגו' חמש עשרה וגו'; (4) כל-בשר; (5) רמש; (6) ב prep. used distributively, cf. 8:17; 9:2,10,16; 17:23; Ex. 12:19; Num. 31:11; (8) חיה; (9) שרץ.

7:23b,24, (1) רמש; (2) יגברו.

8:1,2a,3b-5, (1) אלהים; (2) החיה; (3) שכך, only in Num. 17:20 (P); (4) כבר only here in Hex., J has כגר; (5) תהום; (6) ארכות; (7) the calculations in vs. 4,5.

8:13a,14-19, (1) the calculations in 13a,14; (2) אלהים; (3) "thou, etc." (v. 16); (4) חיה; (5) שרץ; (6) כל בשר distributive; (7) רמש; (8) רמש; (9) פרו ורבו (cf. 1:22); (10) חיה (v. 19); (11) למשפתיים, cf. 10:5,20,31, etc.



## 2. The Style.

## 1) STYLE OF P.

(1) *Is characterized by a systematic arrangement of material*, as is seen in (a) the introduction אלה תולדות; (b) the five months (of 30 days) of increase of flood; (c) the five months of decrease; (d) the gradual leading up to the Noachic covenant (9:1-17) with the law of bloodshed which is given in such detail as to show that it is a point of greatest importance in the writer's mind; (e) the return to the formula of ch. 5 in 9:28,29.

(2) *Is minute, chronological, scientific*, as seen in (a) the calculation of the age of Noah 7:6,11; 9:28,29; (b) the notice of the kind of wood of which the ark was made 6:14; (c) its general fashion, 6:16; (d) its exact dimensions 6:15, cf. the details of the construction of the tabernacle by the same writer, Ex. 25, etc; (e) how it was caulked; (f) its window, door, rooms; (g) its three stories to accommodate perhaps the threefold classification of animals; (h) the provision for food (6:21); (i) the rigid classification in 6:18; 7:13; (j) the classes of animals in 6:20; 7:14,21; 8:1,17,16; 9:2,10; (k) the use of למינם, זכר ונקבה, לזכר ונקבה etc.; (l) the trouble taken to declare the absolute universality of the flood;\* (m) the legal phraseology of 9:4-6.

(3) *Is rigid, stereotyped*, as seen in (a) אלה תולדות (6:9); (b) את-א' החיה (6:9); (c) the regular formulas of 9:28,29; (d) the repetition of many phrases (cited below); (e) the prosaic command to Noah to leave the ark (8:15-16), as compared with the poetic representation of the dove and raven (8:6-12,13b); (f) his account of the exit (8:17) compared with that of J (8:20-22); (g) the barrenness of the symbol of the rainbow (9:14,15) as compared with its meaning and force in what was probably its original position (viz., after 8:21); (h) the lack of rhetorical perspective, the smallest detail receiving as much attention as the most important matter.

(4) *Is verbose and repetitious*, as seen in (a) the repetition of 5:32b by 6:10; (b) of 6:11 by 6:12; (c) of כל-בשר, 6:19; 7:15,21; 8:17; 9:11,15,16,17; (d) of בני ובינה (or נתתי), 6:18; 9:9,11,12,13 (cf. 15,16,17); (e) of בני ובינה in many passages; (f) in 9:8-17 as compared with 8:21,22; for all of 9:8-17, except vs. 13 and 15b, might be omitted and the thought be expressed (cf. the possible condensation of ch. 17); (g) similarity of 9:1-3 and 1:28-30.

## 2) THE STYLE OF J.

Here as elsewhere the characteristics of J's style are clear. It is in every particular in contrast with that of P, since it

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\* Now that science has demonstrated the impossibility of supposing that a *universal* deluge ever took place, it is quite common for interpreters to reconcile the statements of the Bible concerning the deluge with science, by understanding the language of the biblical narrative to be merely oriental exaggeration. However this may be, can any one read the statement in 7:19-23 and doubt for a moment that the writer of it believed, or, at all events, was endeavoring to make others believe that the flood was absolutely universal?

(1) *Is free and flowing*, as will be felt by even a hasty perusal of the material, separated from that of P.

(2) Is characterized by the introduction of the *ancient story* of Noah's drunkenness, 9:20-24; and the *ancient song* conveying Noah's blessing and curse, 9:25-27; cf. 4:22-24.

(3) *Is picturesque and poetical*, as seen in (a) the use of the graphic מַחֶה instead of P's שָׂחַ; (b) his summarization of what is unimportant, cf. 7:1 with 6:18 and 7:13; (c) his expanding the poetic, as in the story of the dove and raven, 8:6-11; 8:20-22; (d) his mention of the time of day 8:11, cf. also 15:12; 18:1; 19:23; 24:63, etc.; (e) a comparison of 7:22 (J) with 7:21 (P), of 8:2b,3a with 8:2a,3b; (f) the less scientific idea of the ark, with a מַכְסָּה which can be lifted by the occupant.

(4) *Is anthropomorphic*, as seen in the representation of Yahweh (a) repenting that he has created man at all (6:7); (b) closing the door after Noah has entered the ark (7:16b); (c) smelling the sweet odor of the sacrifice (8:21); (d) repenting that he has wrought this great destruction among men (8:2); (e) promising never to do so again (8:22).

3. *The Material.*—It is perhaps easier to present the essential features of the material in a series of remarks, rather than by a minutely drawn contrast.

1. The material is throughout *duplicated*: (a) 6:5-8 = 6:9-22; (b) 7:7,10,12, 16b = 7:6,11,13-16a; 7:22,23 = 7:21; (d) 8:2b,3a = 8:2a,3b; (e) 8:13b = 8:13a,14; (b) 8:20-22 = 9:1-17. A careful comparison of these passages shows the evidence of two distinct accounts.\*

2. As to the *duration of the deluge* there is, however, a strong contrast in the material, and as the text now stands it is impossible to produce an orderly chronological succession. Follow by way of experiment the language and style of J and P as gathered from previous sections, accept the analysis which these peculiarities offer, and we have the following representations:

(a) ACCORDING TO J.

7:4, Yahweh speaks: yet 7 days and I will cause it to rain 40 days and 40 nights.....Announcement.  
7:10, after the 7 days the waters of the flood came.....1st day.  
7:12, 8:2b,3a, the rain was on the earth 40 days and 40 nights,  
and the rain was restrained and the waters returned from  
off the earth continually.....40th day.

\* Cf. in Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, the following table, presenting also (see opposite page) the corresponding material of the Assyrian. In this table (1) no distinction is made in the elements composing J; (2) there are a few minor variations from the analysis given in the translation above.

- 8:6, at the end of 40 days\* Noah sends out a raven..... 80th day.  
 8:8, (after waiting 7 days)† he sends a dove which returned ..... 87th day.  
 8:10, after another 7 days, he sends the dove again, and it returns  
     at even, with an olive leaf, and he knows that the waters  
     have diminished..... 94th day.  
 8:12,13b, he waits another 7 days, and sends forth the dove, takes  
     off the covering and looks, and the ground is dry..... 101st day.

(b) ACCORDING TO P.

7:6,11,13, in Noah's 600th year, 2d month and 17th day, on this selfsame day, the sluice-gates of <b>תְּהוֹמֹת</b> are broken up ;	YR.	MON.	DAY.
on this selfsame day Noah and his family enters the ark... 600	600	2	17
7:18-20,24, the waters prevail 150 days (5 months).....		7	17
8:3,4, at the end of the 150 days the waters begin to decrease and gradually diminish until the tops of the mountains are seen in the 10th month and 1st day (about 2½ months).....		10	1
8:13a, the waters have entirely disappeared .....	601	1	1
8:14, the earth is again dry (after nearly 2 months).....	601	2	27
Time.....		1	0 10

ASSYRIAN.	GENESIS.	
	J DOCUMENT.	P DOCUMENT.
I., 11-16.	VI., 5-8.	VI., 11-12.
I., 17-23.	VII., 1.	VI., 13-14.
I., 24-27.		VI., 15-16.
I., 28-35.		
I., 36-38.	VII., 4.	VI., 17-18.
I., 39-44.	VII., 2,3.	VI., 19-21.
I., 45-52.		
II., 2-24.	VII., 5.	VI., 22.
II., 25-34.	VII., 7-9.	VII., 6; 11-16.
II., 35-39.	VII., 16.	
II., 40-50.	VII., 10; 12; 17.	VII., 18-20.
III., 1-4.	VII., 23.	VII., 21-22.
III., 5-18.		
III., 19-20.		VII., 24.
III., 21-23.	VIII., 2b; 3a.	VIII., 1; 2a; 3b.
III., 24-31.		
III., 32-36.		
III., 37-44.	VIII., 6-12.	(VIII., 5; 12a; 14 replaces this with a very different ac- count, which does not con- tain the story of the birds.)
III., 45a.	VIII., 13b.	VIII., 15-17.
III., 45b-50.	VIII., 20.	VIII., 18,19.
III., 51,52.		IX., 1-11.
III., 53.		IX., 12-16.
IV., 1-11.		IX., 17.
IV., 12-20.		
IV., 21-22.	VIII., 21-22.	
IV., 23-30.		

The figures which we give here indicate the columns and the line of the cuneiform tablet, as found in the transcription and interlinear translation of it in appendix V.

\* It is, of course, a question whether two periods of forty days are referred to in the text or only one, cf. Hupfeld, *Die Quellen der Genesis*, p. 135; Schrader, *Studien zur Kritik und Erklärung der Biblischen Urgeschichte*, p. 152; Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, p. 139.

† To be supplied in accordance with 8:10.

This is a total of 12 lunar months of about  $29 \frac{3}{5}$  days + 10 intercalary days = 1 year of  $365 \frac{1}{5}$  days.\*†

3. As to the *form of the ark* there is also a different representation: P's ark has a "window-system," "light" (צָהָר) all around it, and so cannot be "opened"; J's has a "window" which Noah opens and shuts; P's has a "door in the side"; J's has a "cover" apparently on top (cf. 6:16; 8:6,13b).

4. It is to be noted in reference to the passages relating to *clean and unclean*, that P nowhere makes any such distinction, since this would be an anachronism of which he would not be guilty; cf. what has been said of יְהוָה, sacrifices, etc. In 7:15 and elsewhere it is distinctly stated that the animals were "two and two of all flesh," "male and female." J, on the other hand, always makes the distinction, and directs the clean beasts to be taken "seven by seven" (7:2,8 have been in part worked over by R; 7:8,9, thought by Dillmann to be wholly the work of R, are at all events largely by R).

5. *The general conception of the flood differs*: J treats it as the result of an exceptionally long and heavy rain, a freshet; P makes it something of a strangely miraculous nature, the details being consistent with his cosmological system. J makes the flood *local, limited*; P, being always generic rather than individual, thinks of "the whole earth," and with precision describes the rise of the waters till the tops of the highest mountains *which are under the heavens* are covered,—a *universal deluge*. In J the water runs off, dries up; in P it is reabsorbed by the תְּהוֹם, cf. 8:3a with 3b, and 8:7,8,11,13b with 8:1.

6. While the contrasts between P and J are so marked, the internal consistency of each is just as clear, e. g. (a) in J, 6:3 (God's spirit in man) refers to 2:7,8;

\* Compare the exact figures for 1 mean synodical revolution of the moon, viz., 29 days 12 hrs. 44 mins., 2.37 secs., and for the year 365.256 days.

† For a discussion of the duration of the deluge, see commentaries *in loco*, especially Dillman, *Die Genesis*; Delitzsch, *A New Commentary on Genesis* (Vol. I. just translated). Compare also the suggestion (given here with slight changes) of Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, pp. 414, 415, as to the manner in which the Redactor combined the accounts of J and E:

The deluge begins the 17th of 2d month (from P).....	17th of Marheshvân;
At the end of 40 days (from J) the waters of the deluge have reached their greatest height, and the ark floats thereupon.....	toward the beginning of the month of Têbêth.
The strength of the cataclysm lasts in all 150 days (from P), including the 40 days above, and on the 17th of the 7th month the ark is grounded upon the top of Arârât.....	
The first of the 10th month (from P) the mountains emerge.....	17th of Nisân.
After 40 days (from J), Noah opens the window of the ark and sends the first bird.....	1st of Tammûz.
21 days later, the dove returns for the last time, bringing the olive leaf (from J).....	10th of Ab;
On the first day of the first month of the following year (from P), that is, a little more than 150 days after the waters have begun to fall, Noah becomes aware that they have gone down and that the earth is bare, but not in a habitable condition.....	1st of Êlûl.
He waits 57 days longer, that the soil may have time to harden, and goes forth from the ark on the 27th of the 2d month (from P)..	1st of Tishrî.
	27th of Marheshvân.

6:4 (the Nephilim) to Num. 13:33 (J); 6:5 (the evil of man's heart) demands 8:21; 6:8 (Noah's acceptance by God) presupposes 5:29; 8:21 (the promise not again to curse) refers to 3:17-19; (b) in P, 6:9,10 (Noah's character and family) shows distinct connection with 5:32, also 5:22,24; 6:11,12 (the wicked ones of the earth) is in agreement with the unwritten contrast of 5:21-23; 6:18a (the promise of a covenant) demands 9:8-17; 6:18b,19,20 (the directions for entering the ark) demands 7:13-16; 8:17 (the directions for leaving the ark) demands 9:1; 9:6b (man's creation in God's image) refers to 1:27 and 5:1-3. There are still other indications of this consistency.

7. The account of the *mésalliance* of the angelic beings (6:1-4) (this is the only interpretation which has any real ground)\* is evidently foreign to P. Its usual employment to serve as an introduction to the flood story, the 120 years being the time when "the long suffering of God waited in the days of Noah," is very doubtful, in view of the reference in Num. 13:33 and of J's predilection for furnishing explanatory stories. It is evidently an explanation of the gigantic stature of the Anakim of Hebron before whom Israel's spies were as grasshoppers. As to the incompatibility of this, in common with 4:20-22, with any account of a flood, whether P or J, notice will be taken later.

8. The Noah-story in 9:20-27, when compared with P's material, is in striking contrast. Just as the priestly compiler of Chronicles passes over lightly the dark passages in David's life, where he refers to them at all, while the prophetic narrators in Samuel and Kings handle these passages without gloves, so P (a priest) and J (a prophet) stand related. The former knows of no strife between the herdmen of Lot and of Abram, their separation being due to lack of room (13:6). P does not understand that Jacob deceived his father, quarreled with Esau, and on this account fled to Mesopotamia; but (36:7) Esau separated from him because their possessions were too great for the land to endure them, and (27:46-28:2) Jacob went to Mesopotamia to get a wife of the family of his ancestors. Everywhere an extreme degree of propriety characterizes his heroes. It is inconceivable that P's narration of the man "who was perfect in his generations" and "walked with God" should contain Gen. 9:20-27. Concerning this passage, however, more will be said.

4. *The Theology.*—We notice the same general conceptions of God, of man's relation to God, and of divine working in this section as in the previous sections.

#### 1) THE THEOLOGY OF P.

(1) The representation of God is lofty, dignified, and in striking contrast with that of J (see below).

(2) The only man to be saved from the impending destruction, is one who is perfect and blameless (6:9), and who, like Enoch, walks with God. Noah's

\* The various attempts of commentators to explain this passage otherwise are as familiar as they are impossible; cf. Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, pp. 111-112.



obedience, though mentioned by P and J, is emphasized by the former; cf. 6:22 with 7:1.

(3) There is nowhere any reference to altars, sacrifice, the clean and unclean; for according to P's conception all these were revealed first to Moses. Cf. 7:15,16 with 7:2; and 9:1-17 with 8:20,21.

(4) Man is destroyed because of his wickedness, but there is something still beyond; there is, in fact, a great purpose in this destruction: the establishment of a covenant and the revelation of divine law. This is the supreme end which P has always in mind. We have here both a covenant and legislation. This is the second step; the first was narrated in ch. 1, the third and fourth are still in the future.

(5) In the description of events P magnifies and dignifies the supernatural. What in J is a natural event becomes in P the fiat of Almighty power. Note (a) the entrance of Noah into the ark with a pair of every kind of beast and bird (7:14-16), for which J has no corresponding miracle; (b) how, according to P, God *remembered* Noah and every living thing, etc., in the ark; and God *made a wind to pass over* the earth and the waters assuaged, etc. (8:1), and God *spoke unto Noah* and said, Go forth, etc. (8:15,16); while, from J, we learn that when the rain had ceased, it began to dry up, and that Noah looked out and ascertained for himself the condition of things by making an ingenious, yet natural, use of his dumb companions, the raven and the dove; (c) that, in general, P's heroes never move without directions from God; that these directions are always exceedingly explicit; and that the heroes go just so far and no farther; e. g., Noah, according to P, does not experiment on the state of the weather; he does not even venture to leave the ark for two months after "the waters were dried up from off the earth" (8:13a); he remains quiet until God commands him, "Go forth"; then he "goes forth," but nothing more. This conception of history, of the events in the lives of the patriarchs is everywhere characteristic of P, as will appear when the subsequent material is examined.

## 2) THE THEOLOGY OF J.

(1) The representation of Yahweh, as in the preceding sections, is rather that of a supernatural being than of an omnipotent God. The God who "causes it to rain upon the earth," is a somewhat different (i. e., smaller, more limited) conception, from the Creator who opens the sluices of the "expanse" and unlocks the channels of the "abyss." The intrigue of the "sons of God" with mortal women (6:1-4), together with the preconceptions on which this rests (cf. 3:22; 11:6,7), while, everything considered, not inconsistent with the conceptions of J, as gathered from his material elsewhere, is far removed from anything which P has written. The anthropomorphisms are frequent and striking, e. g., (a) repenting that he has made man (6:6); (b) closing the door of the ark (7:16b); (c) mollified

by the sweet smell of the sacrifice and saying in his heart (8:20-22), "I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake," etc.

(2) Man sustains close relations with Yahweh, has familiar intercourse with him and with the heavenly beings: (a) the women are chosen as wives by the angels (6:1-4); (b) the door of the ark is closed by Yahweh himself (7:16b); (c) man is regarded with compassion by Yahweh, who will hereafter plan some other method of punishment. According to P, "the earth was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence, . . . for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth" (6:11,12). J describes it as follows: "And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually" (6:5), and yet, although because of this wickedness he brings upon him almost utter destruction, for this very reason, viz., the innate depravity of man (8:21), he will not again do this thing; since nothing is really to be gained by it.

(3) In accordance with what might be expected from previous sections, the distinction of clean and unclean (clearly marked out, cf. 7:2 with 7:15,16; and 8:20,21 with 9:1-7), the altar, the sacrifice of the clean, the burnt-offering, the sweet smell, legitimate enough from J's point of view, who understands all these to have existed from the very beginning, are in direct conflict with P's conception of the gradual progress of revelation.

(4) Compare with P's conception of the philosophy of history (see under 5) above) that of J, who represents his heroes as doing what in every case seems the most natural thing to do. Whenever possible, divine aid is dispensed with; e. g., the waters run off of themselves (8:3a); once inside the ark and the door closed, Noah is able to manage for himself; various expedients are employed; when he has learned by his own effort that the land is dry, he disembarks, makes known his safe arrival and secures the promise that in the future man shall be let alone.

*Remarks.*—1. The bearing of the Babylonian account of the deluge referred to above is not without interest. The more important question which it raises, viz., What relation exists between it and the Hebrew accounts? is one which lies outside of the scope of this discussion. It seems, however, to throw some light upon the question in hand, and is understood by Assyriologists to speak emphatically in favor of a double authorship of the Hebrew material.

2. It is possible, perhaps, to explain away some of the facts indicated above in the interests of a theory maintaining a single authorship, e. g., (a) 6:5-8 belongs to a section which closes with a statement of the divine determination to destroy man; 6:9-13, called by critics a duplicate, is necessary to introduce an entirely new section; (b) the variation in divine names furnishes no criterion for distinguishing documents; each word for divinity has a significant meaning; the change from Elohim to Yahweh in 7:1 is intended to show that God now appears as the covenant-God; (c) in 7:16 the use of Elohim and Yahweh presents a vivid

contrast, Elohim giving command concerning the beasts; Yahweh, the covenant-God, insuring the man's safety by closing the ark; (d) there is no discrepancy in reference to the number of animals; when the command was first given, 120 years before the catastrophe, the number indicated was a general one; when the time for action arrives an additional detail is given, viz., that of the few clean beasts seven shall be taken; (e) the repeated statements concerning the entering of the ark, 7:5,13,15, only lend vividness to the narrative, and heighten its dramatic effect. Statements of a similar character concerning other points have been put forward. These statements are found to be in most cases unnatural and forced, while in some cases they are almost wholly untenable.

#### V. The Analysis of Gen. 10:1-12:5 (Table of Nations, Dispersion, Genealogy, Call of Abram).

Of this section there is assigned to P, 1) the tôledhōth of the sons of Noah, 10:1-7,20,22,23,31,32; 2) the tôledhōth of Shem, 11:10-26; 3) the tôledhōth of Terah, 11:27,31 (worked over), 32; 12:4b,5. To J is assigned, 1) peopling of earth from Noah's sons, 10:8,10-12,13-19,21,24-30 (for R's work, see above); 2) tower of Babel, dispersion, Abram and his family, 11:1-9 (see p. 56), 28-30 (exc. באור כשרים = R); 3) call of Abram, 12:1-4a.

##### 1. The Language.

##### 1) LANGUAGE OF P.

10:1-7, (1) אלה תולדות (2) יולדו, cf. ילד (10:21); in vs. 8,13,15,21,25,26 (all J) the use of ילד with (3) בני יפת, the regular formula for P in this chapter; vs. 3,4,6,7,22 (P); cf. also Num. 26:5,8,9,12,15,19,20,21,23,26,28,29,38,44,48; never in JE; (4) same formula in vs. 3,4; (5) למשפחותם, cf. 8:19, and in the regular formula, 10:20,31; (6) בגויהם, cf. 10:20,31,32; (7) פרד, cf. פלג (J) in 10:25; (8) איים (v. 5), only here in Hex.; (9) בני (v. 6) (see above); (10) בני (v. 7) twice.

10:20,22,23,31,32, (1) למשפחותם; (2) בגויהם; (3) בני (v. 22); (4) בני (v. 23); (5) למשפחתם (v. 31); (6) לגויהם; (7) תולדות (v. 32), never in JE, but in P twenty-eight times, cf. Gen. 25:13; Ex. 6:16,19; (8) פרד (v. 32, see above); (9) v. 32, the verse as a whole a formula of P, cf. 10:1, 5,20,31.

11:10-26, (1) אלה תולדות (2) ויולד (Hiph.) in each verse down to 26; (3) the form of the entire material.

11:27,31,32, (1) אלה תולדות (2) והוליד, twice; (3) באור כשרים(?) not found in JE; occurs in 11:28 and 15:7, where it is probably R; JE makes the land of Abram's nativity "the city of Nahor" and "Haran," cf. 24:10; 27:43; 28:10; 29:4; (4) the calculation of age (v. 32).

12:4b,5, (1) the calculation of age (4b); (2) רכש and רכוש, cf. the subst. in R, Gen. 14:11,12,16, twice, 21; 15:14; in P, Gen. 13:6; Num. 16:32; 35:3; the verb also in 31:18; 36:6; 46:6; a regular formula of P, neither verb nor subst. occurring in JE, which always uses מקנה.

##### 2) LANGUAGE OF J.

*Remark.*—Gen. 9:18-27 properly connects with this section, 9:18,19 (whether J or R) being the heading of J's table of nations, 9:20-27 being a prophetic description of the three great races corresponding to ch. 49.

10:8-12, (1) יֵלֶךְ, which is not sufficiently precise and exact for P, who (see above) uses הדולר; the universal link of all J's genealogies, cf. 4:17-19; also 10:13,15,26; 22:23; 25:3; (2) החל (see above, on 4:26); (3) גבור (cf. 6:4); (4) הוא היה (cf. 4:26, etc.); (5) הוא גבור twice (v. 9); (6) יהוה twice; (7) על-כן (cf. 2:24).

10:18-30, (1) יֵלֶךְ (vs. 13,15); (2) פוֹיֵן (v. 13), cf. P, 10:5,32; (3) יֵלֶךְ (v. 21), cf. 4:26; 10:25, not found in P; (4) הוא (v. 25), not found elsewhere, cf. v. 18 and P, vs. 5,32; (5) יֵלֶךְ; (7) מושב, cf. 27:39; Num. 24:21; but of the location of a people not found in P.

11:1,2, (1) שפה, דברים, cf. in P לשונה, 10:5,20,31; (2) מקום (see under "material"); (3) בקעה, not in P; cf. Josh. 11:8,17; 12:7 (D on basis of JE); (4) שוּנֵר, only here, 10:10 (J) and 14:1,9(?).

11:3, (1) אִישׁ אֶל-רְעוּהוּ, never in P, who uses אִישׁ אִישׁ, or more frequently אִישׁ אֶל-אֶחָיו; also, in JE, 11:7; 15:10; 31:49; 43:38; Ex. 11:2; 18:7,16; 21:14,18,35; 22:6,9,18; 32:27; 33:11; (2) יֵהָב (v. 4) not in P, but cf. 11:7; 29:21; 30:1; 38:16; 47:15,16; Ex. 1:10; Josh. 18:4; (3) לבנה, and לָבָן, not in P, in JE eleven times; (4)

חֶמֶר, not in P, cf. 14:10; Ex. 2:3; (5) חֶמֶר, in this sense not in P, cf. Ex. 1:14.

11:4, (1) יֵהָב, also 11:5; 35:21 (J or R), in P only as a proper name; (2) פֶּן, cf. 8:3; (4) פוֹיֵן, not in P, but in JE, 10:18; 11:4,8,9; 49:7; Ex. 5:12; Num. 10:35.

11:5,6, (1) יהוה; (2) יֵרֶד of יהוה, never in P, who makes God "appear" (18:2); (3) מְגִדֵּל, 11:4; (4) בְּנֵי הָאָדָם, cf. בְּנֵי הָאָדָם (6:1); (5) יהוה (v. 6); (6) שְׂפָה; (7) חָלָל; (8) עֵתָה; (9) זָמַם, not elsewhere in Hex.

11:7-9, (1) יֵהָב; (2) יֵרֶד; (3) שְׂפָה; (4) אִישׁ רְעוּהוּ; (5) יהוה (v. 8); (6) פוֹיֵן; (7) עַל-כֵּן; (8) יהוה twice; (9) פוֹיֵן (v. 9).

11:28-30, (1) מוֹלַדֶּת, in P = "born," "progeny," בֵּית being added to signify the place where born (Lev. 18:9), but in JE = "fatherland," cf. 12:1; 24:4,7; 31:3,13; 32:10; 49:7; Num. 10:30; (2) אֶמֶי twice, cf. 9:18; 10:21; 22:21, etc.; (3) שָׁם...וְשָׁם, cf. 4:22, not in P; (4) עֶקְרָה, also 25:21; 29:31; Ex. 23:26, but not in P; (5) וְלֹד, only here.

12:1-4a, (1) יהוה; (2) מוֹלַדֶּת (cf. 11:28); (3) גָּרַל (verb), once in P (Num. 6:5, law of Nazirite), in JE, twenty times; (4) אָרָר; (5) יהוה (v. 4).

2. *The Style.*—The old characteristics appear. Some of the specific cases may be cited.

#### 1) THE STYLE OF P.

(1) *Is characterized by a systematic arrangement of material*, as seen in (a) the introductory formula אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת (10:1; 11:10); (b) the division under יָפֶת (vs. 2-5); חָם (vs. 6,7,20); שָׁם (vs. 22,23,32); (c) the order of names beginning with the youngest that he may come to the eldest last and so carry on the descent from Adam through Shem in the line of the eldest son; (d) the colophon which closes each group, cf. vs. 5,20,31; (e) the concluding colophon to the whole table (v. 32); (f) the formal genealogy of ten members (counting Noah) branching into three with the tenth member (cf. ch. 5).

(2) *Is minute, chronological, scientific*, as seen in (a) the ethnological classification of the nations (vs. 5,20,31) "after their families," "after their tongues," "in their lands," "after their nations;" (b) the statistical character of this table as compared with that of J in the same chapter, which contains much historical and geographical material; (c) the precise statistics of Terah's migration (11:31), cf. 21:3; 25:12,19; 28:9, etc.; (d) the statement of Terah's age and death (11:32); (e) the statement of Abram's age when he resumes the journey (12:4b,5); (b) the regular formula for moving, "took his wife, and Lot his brother's son and all the substance which he had gathered," etc., cf. 31:18; 36:6; 46:6.

(3) *Is rigid and stereotyped*, as seen in (a) אֱלֹהֵי הַלְלוּת; (b) the repeated colophon (see above); (c) the repetition of many phrases (see below); (d) the absence of all variation, feeling, poetical touch; (e) the frame-work everywhere visible, etc.

(4) *Is verbose and repetitious*, as seen in (a) the long drawn out genealogical table of 11:10-32, cf. 5; (b) the phrases which make up the colophon; (c) "Abram, his son," "Lot, the son of Haran, his son's son;" "Sarai, his daughter-in-law, the wife of Abram, his son," etc. (11:31), cf. 21:3; 25:12,19; 28:9, etc.; (d) "to go to the land of Canaan, and they came into the land of Canaan" (12:5); (e) the redundancy of the second part of 10:1.

## 2) THE STYLE OF J.

(1) *Is full and flowing*, as in all previous sections of J.

(2) *Is characterized by the introduction of story and prediction*, as seen in (a) the allusion to Nimrod, the hunter (10:9); (b) the reference to the beginning of the Assyrian empire (10:10); (c) the story of the conspiracy against heaven, and the dispersion (11:1-9); (d) the blessing pronounced on Abram (12:1-3).

(3) *Is picturesque and poetical*, as seen in (a) the discursive character of J's table as compared with P's, interrupting the list to relate an anecdote in order to account for a current saying (10:9), to give scraps of historial information (10:11, 14) or geographical material (10:19,30); (b) the varied form of the material, cf. v. 15 with vs. 21,25,26; (c) the interest maintained all through by means of little reminders of history attached to their names, and descriptions of character, e. g., "Nimrod"—he was a mighty hunter; "Shem"—he was the father of Eber; "Casluhim"—the Philistines came from thence; (d) the description of the whole earth as of one speech (11:1); (e) the characteristic explanation of the name Babel (11:9); (f) the contrast between J's heading (9:18,19), and that of P (10:1).

(4) *Is anthropomorphic*, as seen in the representations of Yahweh: (a) the expression "mighty hunter before Yahweh;" (b) the descending of Yahweh to see the danger which was threatening heaven (11:5); (c) the fear that man will soon prove so strong as that nothing will be out of his reach; (d) the exhortation to those about him to go down and confound the multitude (11:7).

(5) *Is antiquarian*, showing special interest in sacred places and connecting with these places old stories. We notice in connection with *Haran*, the first instance of this interest. In the material which follows, hardly a story is related which does not attach itself to some sacred place, tree or fountain, cf. the stories connected with Bethel, Beersheba, Shechem, etc., etc.

3. *The Material*.—This may best be considered in a series of remarks.

1. At first sight, the whole of ch. 10, if the claims heretofore made for P are of any value, would seem to be from that writer. Is not the entire chapter

a list of names? But if the linguistic peculiarities of P and J, noted in chs. 1-9, be followed in this ch., it is found to divide itself into two divisions; and we have here a repetition of what has met us before, viz., two treatments of the same subject.

2. The aim of the Redactor in this ch. has been to fit the two tables together, in such a way as that they shall supplement each other, rather than to give us two parallel tables. In doing this, he has of course made many omissions; yet, notwithstanding his effort to accomplish this, there still exist evidences of a double frame-work, and also of duplication of material. Here may be noticed the following points: (a) The head of P's table is 10:1, that of J's 9:18,19, and these stand in significant contrast; (b) P closes each division of his table with a colophon, 10:5,20,31, J closes each division with a description of the region occupied by the nations enumerated; but of these descriptions only two remain, vs. 19 and 30; (c) P introduced each division by a formula, **בְּנֵי חָם** (10:2), **בְּנֵי שֵׁם** (10:6), J introduced his divisions as in 10:21 **וְיִלְשָׁם יֶלֶד וְנָנָה**, but of the three headings only this one remains. It is really surprising that R retained as much of the characteristic element of each table as is found; in this connection may be noted that (d) 12:4a is duplicated in 12:4b,5; (e) 11:30 is duplicated in 16:1.

3. In 10:7 (P) we read (important words underscored): "And the sons of Cush; *Seba* (**סֶבָא**), and *Havilah*, and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabteca; and the sons of Raamah; *Sheba* (**שֶׁבָא**), and Dedan." In 10:28,29 (J) we read as among the sons of Joktan (v. 28): "Obal, and Abimael, and *Sheba* (**שֶׁבָא**); and Ophir, and *Havilah*." P makes Sheba and Havilah sons of Ham (through Cush); J makes them sons of Shem (through Joktan). It is possible that there may have been two nations for each of the names. But since the "dwelling" of those mentioned in vs. 28,29 was (v. 30) in the same general direction (S. E.) as that of the Sheba and Havilah of v. 7, and since but one Sheba and Havilah are known to the Scriptures, these being prominent Arabian tribes, there seems to be little ground for doubting the identity (cf. Gesenius, 10th edition, which recognizes the existence of two Havilah's (p. 252), but under **שֶׁבָא** (p. 823) remarks, "The different statements exhibit different sources"). These cannot be the names of persons, in which case there would be little objection to the other explanation.

4. There is little or no narrative in this section of P, and hence cross references cannot be expected; it may, however, be noted that (a) 10:1 fits on well to 9:17; (b) 10:32 is followed appropriately by 11:10; (c) 11:32 connects well with 11:27 (or according to Well. with 11:28); (d) 12:4b follows naturally 11:32; (e) 11:10 agrees with 10:22, because a comparison of the names with their position on the map shows that in ch. 10, P enumerates according to geographical position and not age; (f) 11:10 connects this section also with 5:32; 7:6; 8:13,14, and P's chronology in general; it may be asked: If Noah was 500 years old (i. e., in his

501st year) when he begat Shem (5:32), and was 600 years old when the deluge came (7:6), and Arpachsad was born two years after the deluge (11:10), must not Shem have been 102, rather than 100, years old when Arpachsad was born? But P is a close calculator. Shem and Arpachsad were "begotten" at the time mentioned, not "born," and the statement in 11:10 harmonizes exactly with the other texts cited.

5. There are several references in J to the sections preceding: (a) 10:8,9 is an allusion to the "heroes" whose origin was given in 6:1-4; (b) 10:25b points forward to the story of the dispersion, 11:1-9; (c) 10:10 refers to the "Babel" and "Shinar" of 11:1-9.

6. Even by the superficial reader there is felt a difficulty in passing from ch. 10 to ch. 11. This difficulty with others may be stated: (a) In ch. 10 the nations of the earth are settled "after their families, after their tongues (note this expression), after their nations" (10:31). But in 11, without a word of warning, we are carried back to the time when "the whole earth was of one language and of one speech;" and the whole process of diffusion and differentiation of language, which had just been accomplished in one way, is now done over again in quite a different way (concerning this difference, see later). Ch. 10 describes the peopling of the earth, and alludes incidentally to the differences of speech; ch. 11:1-9 gives an account of the supernatural way in which the differences in human speech arose, and the consequent scattering of what was a homogeneous mass into different parts of the earth. Is it conceivable that the same author wrote both? (b) But to what period does 11:1 refer? We are told that, at this time, "the whole earth was of one language and of one speech;" also, that vast multitudes unite in an effort to build a tower which shall reach heaven; again, that the purpose of this effort is, "lest we be scattered on the face of the whole earth"; and still further, that Yahweh is so greatly impressed with the vastness of their united strength, that he himself declares that unless this united action is interrupted, there will be nothing too great for them; and so he scatters them abroad upon the whole earth. What period will cover all these statements? (1) Certainly not that *before* the deluge, for the writer is evidently speaking of a present Babel, and of present peoples; besides 10:25 would seem to be a reference to this story. (2) Then it must be *after* the deluge, but how long after? 10:10 says either that Nimrod founded Babel (how, then, was it built by "the whole earth" (4:3)?), or, better, that it was not built by Nimrod, but having been founded in a preceding generation, existed in his day. The preceding generation was that of Cush; but at that time the total population of the earth was only sixteen families, even supposing all the sons of Shem, Ham and Japheth to have lived, married and had children; while if we include as separate families those of Noah, Shem, Ham and Japheth, there were twenty. But is it so remarkable a fact, as the narrative would seem to indicate, that twenty families should speak one language? Would twenty

families make up the mighty multitude of the story? Would twenty families be so impressed with their vast numbers as to undertake such work with such a purpose? Would Yahweh be represented as alarmed because of the encroachments of such a number? Would not twenty families scattered over the entire earth make a very sparse population? (3) The difficulty still exists if the position of 10:25 is adopted; for (the כַּל-בְּנֵי of v. 21 and the whole of v. 24 = R) Peleg is no further removed from Shem than was Nimrod from Ham. (4) Even granting the genuineness of 10:24, and understanding the period to be that of the fifth generation, we do not find the "multitudes" demanded by the story. (c) Ch. 11: 1-9 is therefore incongruous (1) with the P-element of ch. 10, for there the differences of language are already spoken of as in existence; (2) with the J-element of ch. 10, although the writer recognizes it in v. 25, at the same time adopting a different theory as to the whole matter; (3) with any deluge story whatever, for it will not stand either before or after the deluge; (d) the people described in 11: 1-9, however, seem to be related to those (1) who intrigued with the sons of God (6:1-4); (2) whose first migration was "eastward from Eden, in the land of Nod" (4:16), and who are still journeying in the East; (3) who had built a city and cultivated the arts (4:17-24); (4) who had begun to multiply upon the earth (6:1), and whose life was limited to 120 years to prevent their attaining too much influence (6:3); (5) whose numbers are now (11:1) so great as to arouse new anxiety and compel Yahweh again to interfere or "nothing will be withholden from them" (for the connection of these various passages see pp. 62, 63).

7. The table in 11:10-26 is (a) intended to serve the same purpose as that contained in ch. 5, viz., to furnish a list of the names connecting two important periods; (b) arranged on the same plan as that in ch. 5, except that it is shortened by omitting, (1) the total sum of years and (2) the concluding clause "and he died"; but (c), according to the Hebrew text, consists of nine instead of ten members, unless (1) Abraham is taken as the tenth corresponding to Noah of the first table (but he corresponds to Shem, not Noah), (2) after the example of the Sept. (which has inserted קִינָן before שְׁלֵה, a suspicious insertion in view of the use of קִינָן in the preceding table, and the fact that the numbers of Shelah (180, 380) are given to him) we suppose that one name has been omitted, a supposition exceedingly probable under all the circumstances; (d) as differently reproduced in the versions as was ch. 5 (see Dill. *in loc.*).

#### 4. The Theology.

##### 1) THE THEOLOGY OF P.

(1) Since P's material in this section consists only of (a) a list of nations derived from Noah's sons (in 10); (b) a list of Shem's descendants through ten generations (11:10-26); (c) five verses relating to the migration of Terah and the journey of Abram (11:27,31,32; 12:4b,5), there is nothing which throws additional light upon the conception of God entertained by that writer.



(2) In the former narratives, P has always magnified and emphasized the supernatural, while J has everywhere described events in a much more natural way (cf. pp. 50,51). Is not the method in this section reversed? Does not P furnish the naturalistic interpretation of that most wonderful fact, viz., the differences of speech, while J gives the supernatural account? So it would seem; but note that (a) what P gives us is not one story substituted for another; he simply moves on in the rigid, stereotyped style which has characterized him from the beginning; he is limited to the *תולדות בני נח*, and consequently has nothing to give but a table; (b) J himself has done practically the same thing; for, as has already been indicated, 11:1-9 is not originally the work of J, but of some other writer, and either taken up by J later, or combined with J by R; (c) the representation of Yahweh in 11:1-9 is one which P would not have accepted; for the introduction of such a story by P is inconceivable; (d) it is not quite correct to say that P substitutes the supernatural for the natural. His peculiarity is rather that, having accepted the miraculous in a given case, he dignifies and magnifies it; he makes his representation consistent with his conception of God.

(3) P does not think it necessary to state formally the reason for God's choice of Abram (cf. on the other hand, J in 15:6). His method of presentation, however, suggests the reason, viz., Abram is the eldest son of the eldest son as far back as Adam. This was reason enough.

(4) The time of Terah's migration is not, in P's mind, so important a period as J makes it. There is no occasion yet for an interposition of God, for a theophany. The regular scheme rolls on with its bare chronology of names and dates until, when Abram is 99 years old, God appears to him, promises Isaac and ordains in the same stereotyped and redundant forms of expression, the covenant of circumcision (17).

## 2) THE THEOLOGY OF J.

(1) The representations of Yahweh are similar to those already familiar. We find him (a) connected in some way with Nimrod in the form of a popular proverb (10:9); (b) coming down to see what the children of men are doing (18:21), to see if the report concerning Sodom's wickedness is really true; (c) alarmed because of the audacious attempts of men (11:8); (d) scattering mankind lest they become too strong (11:7); with which we may compare (e) man's expulsion from Eden because of his presumption (3:22), and (f) the struggle with Jacob (32:27). The fact that some of these representations are in material which was not original with J, does not affect the question; for in accepting the material he adopts as his own the representation.

(2) J holds tent-dwellers and shepherds in high esteem; city-builders and artisans are wicked men. Shamelessness (the account is so meagre as to leave the matter quite indefinite) is abhorred (9:25-27). Drunkenness is not so dis-

creditable as to prevent the transmission of Yahweh's blessing and curse by the utterance of one thus overcome. If we may for a moment anticipate, we find in his material the great mass of that undesirable matter of which Gen. 19:30-38; 25:22-26; 26:8; 30:14-16,36-43; 34 (the J portion); 38; 39; 49:4; Ex. 4:24-26 are examples. This is for the most part avoided by P.

(3) The prophetic statements in 12:1-3 are important in making an estimate of J's theological conceptions; they constitute a part of that most wonderful series which includes (a) 3:14,15, the struggle between mankind and sin; (b) 5:29, the help and consolation which is to come through Noah; (c) 8:21,22 the assurance that another deluge shall not come; (d) 9:25-27, the predictive words concerning Shem, Canaan and Japheth. P contains no such element. Without going into the details of this passage, it will be seen that J (a) interprets the divine purpose as to the future of Abram's family; (b) indicates the features of the future; (c) announces that the future of all other nations will be determined by their attitude toward this family.

(4) In this section there has been no occasion for reference to altars, shrines, sacrifice, etc.

#### VI. The more Detailed Analysis of the J Document.

When the P-elements of 1:1-12:5 are separated, they are found to constitute a complete unity,—a systematic, consistent whole, as far as the material under consideration continues. J, though much more homogeneous after the removal of P, has already been seen to contain certain incongruous elements, the chief of which were the passages inconsistent with the story of the deluge. Thus far nothing has been lost in considering the elements of J together, for while differing from each other in a most striking way in respect to "material," they are, for the most part, one in "language," "style," and "theology," and in these respects stand in the same contrast to P. The more important of the passages thus to be distinguished and the grounds for the separation may be considered briefly.\* Understanding, for the sake of convenience, that portion of J, as a whole, which includes the deluge-story and the material consistent with that story, to be J<sup>2</sup>, the remaining portions will be called J<sup>1</sup>. Such a terminology naturally suggests that J<sup>1</sup> is older than J<sup>2</sup>; but leaves entirely open the question whether J<sup>1</sup> is to be taken as the original, J<sup>2</sup> being an interpolation; or J<sup>2</sup> is the real J, J<sup>1</sup> having been incorporated.

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\* The existence of the analysis does not rest upon the question of diverse elements in J. It was not the original purpose to introduce this question; but since (1) a presentation of the subject as found in Gen. 1:1-12:5 would be manifestly incomplete without this part; (2) this additional analysis rests largely upon but one of the four lines of argument generally employed, viz., the argument from "material," and thus presents an opportunity for testing the value of this argument when it stands alone; (3) the detailed interpretation of Gen. 1:1-12:5, if any analysis is accepted, is difficult except upon a consideration of the points here involved, it seems best to make at least a brief presentation of this matter.

1. Gen. 4:17-24, upon a careful examination, presents the following difficulties as the text now stands:

1) The section 4:2-16 relates how Cain becomes a murderer, a fugitive, an outcast from the society of men, dreading even to meet men,—a typical *nomad*; 4:17-24, on the other hand, presents Cain as an agriculturist, building a city (vs. 17,18), as if there had never been an event like that narrated in vs. 2-16.

2) The present text furnishes no answer to the old question, as to where Cain obtained his wife; as it now reads, nothing could be more abrupt or difficult than v. 17, “and Cain knew his wife,” etc. Evidently this is a section of some different account in which the attendant circumstances were different, and the popular query, so often ridiculed, has a critical basis.

3) Cain, we are told in v. 17 “was building a city.” This implies a number of men, and for this statement the original narrative must have furnished a ground; but it is more difficult to find even a small number of men at this juncture, than to find for Cain a wife.

4) The writer in 4:2 calls Abel a “keeper of sheep,” but in 4:20 Jabal is termed “the father of such as dwell in tents and have cattle,” a designation which the context shows clearly to mean “father of shepherds,” “the original shepherd.”

5) The whole purpose of 4:17-24 is to explain the origin of the arts and of civilization; note the references to (a) the first city; (b) polygamy; (c) tent and shepherd life; (d) music; (e) manufacture of iron and bronze instruments. Furthermore the civilization, the origin of which the writer here describes, is the civilization of his own times. This could have been written only by one who knew of no interruption of human history by the deluge.

6) The seeming reference in v. 24 to v. 15 would seem, in spite of all these considerations, to show a close connection; but a study of the different senses in which יָקַם שְׁבָעָתַיִם is used in these passages, serves really to support the idea of different authorship.\*

2. Gen. 6:1-4 presents the following difficulties:

1) Although evidently intended as an introduction to the deluge story, it does not in any satisfactory sense serve this end. And besides, it is superfluous, since 6:5-8 itself furnishes a complete introduction.

2) In its present connection, the 120 years of v. 3 are thought to indicate the time during which mankind should still be allowed to exist upon the earth, a period of respite; but (a) 6:4 shows conclusively that the writer of these words knew of no story of the deluge (see below); (b) such a respite is nowhere else referred to; (c) according to 7:4 seven days are considered sufficient for the warning. The 120 years, in the mind of the writer, constituted the maximum of human life; a limit is set in order to prevent man's attaining too great power.

\* See Budde, *Die Biblische Urgeschichte*, pp. 133ff.

3) This section (6:1-4) precedes the deluge, in which all mankind except Noah's family perished; and yet it gives us the origin of the Nephilim, who are still living at the time of the exodus (Num. 13:33), and of the נַפְלִיִּים, of whom one was Nimrod. Its contents are therefore entirely inconsistent with the idea of a deluge, and consequently with J, who narrates the deluge.

3. Gen. 9:20-27 also presents difficulties which can only be explained upon the supposition of a separate authorship:

1) Just as in 4:17-25 the chief idea was that of the origin of arts and civilization (Cain, a city-builder; Jabal, Jubal, Tubal, each the inventor of a distinct art; Nimrod a נַבְרִיִּי), so here Noah is a husbandman, a rôle quite distinct from that of a navigator.

2) The actions here ascribed to his sons are hardly what would be expected of men over one hundred years of age, or of married men. They point rather to children playing around the tent-door. It is further to be noted that there is but one tent ("the tent"), which presumably was occupied by the father and three sons.

3) It is very difficult to explain why a curse should be pronounced by Noah upon the head of an innocent party, though a child of the true offender. The various explanations suggested are entirely unsatisfactory.

4) The story cannot be assigned to a period preceding the deluge; and obviously it cannot be made an introduction to the table of nations.

5) The three sons of Lamech are made the fathers of the world, classified according to types of civilization. This would seem to be sufficient; it would, at all events, be inconsistent with this to classify the world again under another triad, as is done in ch. 10. This song takes a more narrow outlook, viz., Shem (= Israel), Japheth (= Phœnicia), the one spread abroad over the earth, Canaan, the servant of servants, i. e. the Canaanite in subjection to the yoke of Israel and Phœnicia (partners in a brotherly covenant, cf. Amos 1:9). Reference is made only to the ancestry of the Palestinian nations (cf. Budde *in loc.*).

6) But what is the point of connection between the Shem, Japheth and Canaan of this passage and the Shem, Ham and Japheth of ch. 10. In the adjustment of history after the deluge, in which all mankind perishes, the hero of the deluge, Noah, must be made the ancestor of all races. J<sup>1</sup>, who knew of no deluge, represented the sons of Noah as the ancestors of the Palestinian nations; J<sup>2</sup> takes a broader conception. Noah's sons are the ancestors of all nations: Shem represents Asia; Japheth, Europe; but Canaan will not answer for Africa. The native Egyptian word for Egypt, *χημ*, is introduced, and the triad readjusted according to the order of importance, Shem, Ham, Japheth. To make as little change as possible it is added that Ham is the father of Canaan.

7) Canaan, according to vs. 25, 26, is to be a "servant of servants" to his brethren; now Canaan's brethren are Cush, Mizraim, Put (10:6); but the following verses show that the "brethren" are Shem and Japheth, to whom, for their

paternal regard, this honor is given over the youngest. Noah's sons in this passage are therefore Shem, Japheth and Canaan.

8) Put all this together, regard the words חם אבי of 9:22 as the insertion of R, read vs. 20-27, and the whole passage is plain and unambiguous. Canaan is punished because Canaan committed the injury.

4. Gen. 11:1-9 was fully considered above pp. 56, 57; the considerations need not be repeated.

*Remarks.*—1. It is to be kept in mind that (a) the general question of the analysis is not concerned in this more minute analysis of the J-elements, except in so far as it is necessary, when once the work has been undertaken, to bring it to a satisfactory conclusion; (b) it is in reference to the origin and relation of these separate elements that critics differ from each other, and not in reference to either the portions to be assigned J as a whole, or the particular passages which are recognized as distinct from each other.

2. Wellhausen, Bud., Kuen. and Kitt. practically agree in reference to J<sup>1</sup>, as follows:

1) *As to amount.*

(1) Chs. 2:4b-3:24, the story of Eden, the fall, the driving forth.\*

(2) Ch. 4:1,2bb,16b-24, a seven-linked genealogy dividing with Lamech, the seventh, into three, viz. Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal, who (a) are the ancestors of the race, viewed from the stand-point of occupation or mode of life, (b) correspond to the Shem, Ham and Japheth of J<sup>2</sup>.

(3) 6:1-4 + 10:9, the story of the origin of the Nephilim† (cf. Num. 13:33).

(4) (5:29) 9:20-27 (exc. חם אבי in v. 22 = R), Noah, the husbandman, who discovers the vine and takes away the curse; his drunkenness; his prophetic song of the Palestinian nations‡ (Israel, Phœnicia and Canaan).

(5) 11:1-9, the confusion of tongues and dispersion from Babel.

(6) The matter, now lost, originally underlying 10:21,25; 11:10-26, a second seven-linked genealogy, beginning with Shem, and ending with Terah, father of Abram, Nahor and Haran.

(7) 11:28-30 (worked over); 12:1-3. Details concerning Abram's family and migration.

2) *As to relation with J<sup>2</sup>:* This first history was enlarged by J<sup>2</sup>§ who (1) adopted the Mesopotamian story of Hasisadra and the flood; (2) borrowed from J<sup>1</sup> the name Noah (5:29); (3) changed J<sup>1</sup>'s genealogical table by inserting the names "Seth" and "Enosh," and altering slightly the other names, thus securing the

\* The arguments for regarding this section as J<sup>1</sup> are much less satisfactory than those urged for the other passages, and so have not been touched upon above.

† There is here a slight variation of opinion, cf. *HEBRAICA*, Vol. IV., p. 235.

‡ According to Budde 5) preceded 4).

§ Budde makes J<sup>2</sup> an independent history, (1) whence P obtained material for ch. 1, (2) traces of which remain in 2:9ba,10-15; 3:22-24, (3) united with J<sup>1</sup> by another writer who was author of 4:2-16a.

number *ten* which made the genealogy correspond to that of Hasisadra; (4) connected his new table with J<sup>1</sup> by means of 4:25,26; added 9:18,19; 10:8-19 (in part), 21 (in part), 25-30, a table of nations, derived from Shem, Ham (substituted for Canaan in J<sup>1</sup>) and Japheth; (6) adopts the genealogy of Abram from J<sup>1</sup>.

3. Dillmann\* separates the same passages, with, however, some slight variations: (1) ch. 2:4b-3:24 is J<sup>2</sup> (as we have designated it) except 3:20 and 2:10-15 (14); (2) 4:17-24 is J<sup>2</sup>, but based entirely upon an earlier source (Dillmann, E), (4:1-16 being misplaced); (3) 6:1-4 is from an earlier source; (4) 9:20-27 from a special source to be followed by 9:18,19, while 10:9,24 and perhaps 14 are by R; (5) 11:1-9, originally in a connection which did not include a knowledge of the deluge, but adopted by J and now in a true sense J's.

## VII. A General Résumé of the Ground Covered.

We may now consider, upon the basis of the entire material, the state of the case. What are the facts and the considerations?

1. *Language*.—If we, provisionally, divide chs. 1:1-12:5 into two portions, the division being based upon a difference of style (strongly marked), a difference of statement in the handling of practically the same material, a difference of theological conception, does this division find any support in the linguistic phenomena presented?

Let us consider the facts as obtained from an examination of the chapters:—

1) The total vocabulary of the section is.....	485	words.
2) Of the 485, those used by P alone number.....	118	"
3) " " " " J " .....	246	"
4) " " P's total usage is therefore .....	239	"
5) " " J's " " .....	367	"
6) " " P and J use in common .....	121	"
7) The total occurrence of words in the section is.....	3727	"
8) Of the 3727 P has.....	1858	"
9) " " J " .....	1762	"
10) " " R " .....	107	"
11) P uses 239 words in 1858 forms, each word.....	7.77	times.
12) J uses 367 words in 1762 forms, " .....	4.8	"
13) P uses 239 words in about 150 verses, for each verse....	1.58	new words.
14) J uses 367 words in about 140 verses, for each verse ...	2.62	"

\* So also, essentially. Kautzsch and Socin.



what seems to be a double treatment of the same subject, and a different conception of God, his relation to man, and man's relation to him, do we note in the division thus made any differences of style?

1) One part is found everywhere to be (a) systematic in the arrangement of material; (b) chronological and statistical, not only in the character but also in the presentation of the material selected; (c) minute, precise, scientific; (d) rigid, stereotyped, condensed, in the mode of conception; but (e) verbose and repetitious in the form of expression; (f) generic, rather than individual.

2) The second part is found everywhere to be (a) free and flowing, without sharp distinctions or classification; (b) marked by the presence of stories and traditions, but lacking all numbers and dates except those of a most general character; (c) picturesque and poetical both in conception and expression, introducing frequently pieces of a poetic character; (d) highly anthropomorphic in all representations of God; (e) prophetic, predictive, didactic; (f) individual rather than generic.

*Remark.*—Can it be a mere coincidence that those same portions which have a given vocabulary, *always* have the same characteristics of style? Furthermore, is it not strange that there is so close a connection between the vocabulary of each of these writers and his style? No one would for a moment think of combining the vocabulary of one with the style of the other. Such a combination would at once be felt to be incongruous.

3. *Material.*—If we make a rough division of 1:1–12:5 into two parts, basing it upon the occurrence of characteristic words, upon differences of style, and upon differences in theological conception, what do we find as to the material of these divisions?

1) *A duplication of the same material:* (a) In one division (1) an account of creation; (2) a genealogical table of ten generations to Noah; (3) a statement of the world's wickedness; (4) a great flood sent as a punishment for this wickedness; (5) the deliverance of one family and of representatives of all kinds of beasts; (6) covenant and promise never to inflict a similar punishment; (7) a table of nations; (8) another genealogical table, to Abram; (9) the family and migration of Abram.

(b) In the second division, (1) an account of creation, with a story of the fall and expulsion from Eden; (2) a genealogical table of seven generations (with practically the same names as in the other division), together with the story of Cain and Abel; (3) a statement of the world's wickedness, with the story of the sons of God and daughters of men; (4) a great flood sent as a punishment for this wickedness; (5) the deliverance of one family and of representatives of all kinds of beasts; (6) sacrifice and promise not to repeat the punishment; (7) a table of nations, with a story of Noah's drunkenness and Canaan's curse; (8) traces of a genealogical table to Abram; (9) the family and migration of Abram.



2) *Differences, discrepancies and contradictions* of such a character as absolutely to forbid the supposition that they have come from one hand (space need not be taken to repeat these).

*Remarks.*—1. It is said: If there are so many discrepancies, and contradictions as to make it impossible to conceive of the work as the labor of one author, how is it possible to explain it as the work of a Redactor? Will an editor be any more likely than an author to combine contradictory matter in one piece? This question may be answered by noting (1) that an editor has done just this thing in Samuel (e. g. the different and even contradictory stories of (1) the desire of the people for a king; (2) the appointment of Saul as king; (3) the introduction of David at court), and elsewhere; (2) that much of the roughness of the patchwork was covered up by the insertions of the Redactor; (3) that in those days among all nations, and especially among the Semitic nations, there was an utter lack of that precision and scientific disposition characteristic of the present.

2. Can it be a mere coincidence that, in one description of a given event, there should be found one vocabulary, and one style of speech, while in another description of this same event, the style and language are different? Furthermore, is it not strange that there is such a harmony, as has been found, in the language, style and material of each division. Would any one think of putting P's material into J's language and style?

3. But is not this, in itself, a consideration in favor of unity of authorship? Every writer changes his style and language in treating of different subjects. Yet (1) does the same author use two vocabularies, and two kinds of style in successive chapters? Does he write one paragraph in a chapter with one set of words and in one style, a second paragraph with another set of words and in another style? Does he write one verse, or half-verse, in one way, and the following verse, or half-verse, in another? Would he keep up this sort of thing verse after verse, chapter after chapter, through several volumes? (2) Does the same writer often tell a story, or furnish a list of names, or describe an event in one vocabulary and with one style, and then tell the same story, or furnish the same list of events, or describe the same event with another set of words and in another style? (3) Does the same author repeat a story or a list, or a description, immediately after having first given it, and in the repeated form furnish matter so different and contradictory that for thousands of years men have believed the second statement in every case to be not a second account of the same thing, but an account of a second and different thing?

4. *Theology.*—If we separate 1:1–12:5 into two divisions on the basis of characteristic words and phrases, style, similarity and at the same time difference of material, we find that each division is marked also by a different conception of God (accompanied by the use of a different word\*), of man's relations to God, of

\* The exceptions are (1) the Elohim in chs. 2, 3, and (2) the few cases in which the Redactor has used Yahweh for Elohim.

the proper modes of worship, of God's action in history. These differences may be briefly summed up:

1) In one division we find (a) a rigidly monotheistic spirit, no word or expression occurring which could possibly be interpreted otherwise; (b) a lofty, dignified conception of God as powerful and benevolent; (c) a magnifying and dignifying of the supernatural; (d) man so far beneath his Creator as to give no occasion for any divine jealousy or alarm; (e) a strict adherence to an idea of progressive revelation, which shows itself in the selection of a few great legal enactments set forth in a skeleton of history; (f) a conscientious withholding from any reference to God as the Covenant-God (Yahweh), to sacrifice, altars, clean and unclean, or ceremonial institutions of any kind.

2) In the other we find (a) a spirit which can scarcely be called monotheistic in the strictest sense; (b) a representation of God as a supernatural being, whose rights are threatened by man's presumption, who "breathes," "walks," "comes down from heaven," etc., etc.; (c) a dispensing, so far as possible, with divine aid, the heroes doing what seems the natural thing to do; (d) man sustaining free and confidential relations with Yahweh and the heavenly beings; (e) an utter indifference to the historical development of religious ideas; (f) the existence from the beginning of a definite ceremonial system, including altars, sacrifice, distinction of clean and unclean, etc.

*Remarks.*—1. We thus see that, from whatever point of view the material of 1:1-12:5 is regarded, there are such differences as to demand the hypothesis of at least two writers. Each argument by itself, with the exception of that from language, would seem to be sufficient; but when each argument strengthens and is strengthened by all the rest, the case becomes still more clear.

2. But let us look at it in another way: (1) We divide these chapters into two divisions simply on the basis of the use of the divine names, regarding as doubtful chs. 2,3, which have the double phrase Yahweh Elohim; (2) we go through each division and note the language; we discover many words and phrases which occur in one but not in the other; words and phrases, too, for which in the other division corresponding expressions are found; it seems strange that wherever Elohim is used, it is accompanied by a certain series of words, and that it is just so in the use of Yahweh; (3) we go through again, and we discover that one division has everywhere a certain style (rigid, stereotyped, etc.), and that the other has a style quite the opposite (free, flowing, poetical); (4) we examine the passages again, and this time discover that really each division takes up the same events, the same history (creation, deluge, etc.); (5) we take it up again and to our surprise notice that each division, in spite of the similarity of material, has its own peculiar and widely different conception of God, etc. What must be the result of this fivefold examination? Is this the work of one man, or two?

5. *The two J-elements*.—Having satisfied ourselves that there are two writers, viz., P and J (unless this is granted, it is not worth our while to consider the parts of J), we come to the consideration of J by itself. We find in J certain material (1) incongruous with certain other material, not fitting into it or with it, (2) wholly incompatible with the idea of a deluge story, (3) with a certain bond of connection running through all of it, (4) with a conception of Yahweh as in a state of alarm, sending upon them great afflictions, not so much in punishment for their sins, as to restrain them lest they become too strong. This matter, though similar in style and vocabulary, is so distinct in material that we at once declare it to have been the work of a third writer; in other words, that there are two J's. The relation of these two writers to each other may be doubtful, just as is that of P and J to each other; but this does not affect the question of their separate existence.

6. *The Redactor*.—Manifestly if there were two writers, and the work of both is now one piece, some one must have joined the two. In doing this he acted in accordance with the spirit of his times, as regulated by his purpose in making the combination. His spirit is far from being a critical one. He did not hesitate to use his material in any way which would best subserve his aim. He inserted and omitted; changed and arranged. He handled the sources used as freely as if he had been the author. The question of the time, etc., of this Redactor does not belong here.

### VIII. Brief Consideration of Some General Questions.

It only remains to consider in the briefest possible way some of the general questions which suggest themselves to the student who has followed up to this point the presentation of the subject.

1. *The relation of this section (Gen. 1:1-12:5) to the remaining portion of the Hexateuch*.

1) It is a most important section. Its matter is of peculiar interest. One exaggerates but little in saying that Gen. 1-12 contains as many difficult points as does the whole remaining portion of the Hexateuch. It is the basis of all that follows. Whether the work of one or of three authors, it introduces us to sacred history, and it is an introduction the influence of which is felt in all parts of the body of the work.

2) It is a *representative* section. In a large sense, a decision of the question as it relates to this section, is a decision of the whole question. The two great writers, granting their existence, furnish us specimens, as characteristic of their work as any which follow. All the principles of criticism come up.

3) The section stands closely connected with a large amount of material gathered from Assyrian and Babylonian sources. There are Assyrian accounts of the creation, of the deluge, which so closely resemble the biblical account as to

employ even the same idiomatic expressions in their narration. What is the mutual relation of the Hebrew and Assyrian accounts? Does the existence of the Assyrian accounts go to prove or disprove the theory of double or triple authorship?

4) Two of the four writers claimed to be found in the Hexateuch, viz., E, who furnishes a history of Israel running side by side with that of J after Gen. 20, and D, to whom is assigned the bulk of Deuteronomy, do not appear in this section. Dillmann, as has been noticed, identifies J<sup>1</sup> with E.

5) Certain kinds of material, especially the legislative element, which is the great element, have not yet presented themselves. This shows how small a proportion of the subject, after all, we have yet touched. The argument from legislation, a division of the argument from material, is, of all arguments, the most complicated, and yet the most conclusive (from whichever side viewed).

6) It is, therefore, in place to say: (1) If the facts and considerations seem to be clear and conclusive in favor of a triple authorship, remember that the theory must stand the test of application to the remaining books. (2) If the facts do not seem to justify this theory, remember that there is much new material, that there are new forms of the old arguments which yet deserve study.

*2. Difficulties raised by an acceptance of the analysis of these chapters.\**

The following difficulties will arise in the mind of the student; it is only proper to face them:

1) If there is an analysis, much that is said in dictionaries and books on synonyms is valueless, inasmuch as two words which have heretofore been regarded and interpreted as expressions of different thought on the part of one author, and therefore as very significant, turn out to be merely the variant expressions of the same thought on the part of two authors.

2) If there is an analysis, interpretations based upon the sudden change of style, supposing it all to be the work of one author (e. g., from a dead, rigid style to a living, vigorous style, indicative of force, or characteristic of an eye-witness), must now be dropped, since this is merely an individual characteristic.

3) If there is an analysis, the sacred record can no longer be claimed to present a perfectly accurate account of these early times; for conflicting accounts stand side by side; changes have been arbitrarily introduced into the text; insertions and omissions have been made; the material cannot be called in a very strict sense historical.

4) If there is an analysis, there are two very different, though perhaps not contradictory, conceptions of God, one of which seems to border closely on polytheism. How is it possible for so low (this is the proper term) an idea of God to have been incorporated in the Sacred Scripture?

\* It will be necessary, perhaps, to treat this from a somewhat broader point of view than that implied in this statement. I do not purpose, here, to answer these difficulties.

5) If there is an analysis, one is at a loss really to know whether sacrifices, altars, distinction of clean and unclean, the name of Yahweh, etc., existed from the earliest times or not. One writer represents all these things as in existence; the other does not. Both certainly cannot be right.

6) If there is an analysis, even these chapters furnish enough to show that Moses is not the author of the Pentateuch; for if Gen. 1-12 was written long after Moses' death, it is presumable that the other portions of the Hexateuch which follow and connect with these chapters belong also to a later date.

7) If there is an analysis, and Moses did not write the Pentateuch, the New Testament authorities, among others Jesus himself, who seem to say that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, or at any rate to imply this, either must have been ignorant of the facts in the case, or knowing them, must have (1) consciously taught falsely, or (2) accommodated themselves to the literary suppositions of their day. Each of these possibilities is attended with difficulties.

8) If there is an analysis, it is probable that other Old Testament books will be found to have been put together in the same way; e. g., Samuel, Kings. The discourses of the prophets, e. g., Isaiah, Zechariah, may, likewise, be found to have been thrown together without much regard to time or order by later editors. The same lack of accuracy, the same proleptic method of handling material will be found to characterize all the O. T. so-called historical and prophetical writings.

9) If all this is true, the character of the Old Testament material, whether viewed (a) from an archæological, (b) from an historical, and especially (c) from a religious point of view, must be estimated somewhat differently from the method commonly in vogue. If it is composed of different stories of the same event, joined together by an editor who did not have insight sufficient to enable him to see that he was all the time committing grave blunders, and yet felt no hesitation in altering the originals with which he was working, it is not historical in the ordinary sense of that term.

### *8. Difficulties relieved by an acceptance of the analysis.*

While in the minds of some difficulties will arise; in the minds of others who have long been troubled, certain difficulties will be relieved. It must be noted, however, that while these twelve chapters alone suggest nearly all the difficulties which the Hexateuch as a whole raises, a study of the Hexateuch is needed to reach conclusions which will relieve all the difficulties that have been felt by students in relation to this particular division of biblical material.

1) The material having come from two or three different writers, it is easy to understand why in this chapter a certain word or phrase (e. g., אלהים, ברא, זכר ונקבה) was employed, while the following chapter in the same connection and in expressing the same thought used an entirely different word (e. g., עשה, איש ואשתו, יהוה). It is true, the commentators have explained all this; but

as a matter of fact their explanations occasion more trouble than did the original difficulty.

2) The material having come from two or three different writers, these sudden and inexplicable changes of style, in successive chapters, in the middle of a chapter, and even in the middle of a verse, become very clear.

3) There being different writers, the small inaccuracies, which could hardly be accounted for if one writer was the author of the whole, now have an explanation. It is not worth while to deny the existence of these inaccuracies; only ignorance of what constitutes an inaccuracy, or a perverse prejudice will fail to detect them. It is only natural that in material collected from different sources, handled by various Redactors, such should have arisen.

4) There being two or more writers, it is easy to understand how there have come down to us, side by side, two accounts of creation, two genealogical tables, two stories of the deluge, two accounts of the peopling of the earth, etc., etc. While it would be inconceivable that one man should duplicate his own material in such a way, taking pains to change his vocabulary, style, theology, and even the material itself, there is no difficulty in explaining the material as written originally by different men. The harmonizing absolutely required, and as absolutely unattainable if one writer was understood to have written all, is no longer even necessary if there are two. Besides, we have now two different accounts of the same event, in other words, double testimony; and although this testimony is not always consistent, such, under all the circumstances, could scarcely be expected. Do we expect of the early times a perfect morality? or a morality judged by the standard of our times? Then why expect a perfect historiography?

5) There being two or more writers, the different theological conceptions which are so evident in these chapters receive explanation. It is clear that the Israelites, from the beginning, did not have the New Testament theological conceptions, as most commentators have endeavored to show. Just as there was a marked imperfection in their ideas of morality, an imperfection which could only be removed by degrees, so their ideas of God, though communicated to them from heaven itself, were imperfect, far short of what they afterwards attained, far different from the ideas taught in the New Testament. They could not comprehend the real truth. They were children in religious faith, and even God himself must deal with them as such and not as men. This removes the many "moral" difficulties of the Old Testament. If these people knew God as we know him, if their ideas of him were such as we to-day entertain, how could they have committed such sins as those with which they are so frequently charged? How could they so frequently have fallen into idolatry? Their shortcomings as a nation and as individuals are better appreciated when once we realize that they lived not in the splendor of New Testament Christianity, but at the breaking dawn of Old Testament monotheism. Whatever may be said as to the relative ages of the theo-

logical conceptions of P and J, the two, though apparently inconsistent, present God in aspects which were, are, and always will be true.

6) There being two or more writers in the Pentateuch, the method of composition being therefore compilation, we have harmony as to method between this portion of Sacred Scripture and all other portions (e. g., Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and even the Gospels of the N. T.). It is true that compilation is to-day regarded as the lowest order of composition. The mere compiler is not treated as an author. It would seem to injure the character of these books, if they are declared to be compilations. Still, even the most conservative scholars have long recognized the existence of various documents (in an undigested form) in these and other books. Now if this was the method employed as far down as New Testament times, it is difficult to believe that a higher method was employed so far back as the time in which the Pentateuch is asserted to have had its origin. We must apply the same principle here as elsewhere. We do not expect to find at this early period the highest standards of morality, or the highest conceptions of God. Why then should we look for the highest form of literary composition? We know that it was the child-age. To find a far more perfect form of composition than existed when the nation had become civilized and cultured is inconceivable. A great difficulty is therefore removed by this representation.

In closing this presentation I desire to refer to two points :

1) An estimate of the value of the Scripture material in general, or of Genesis 1-12 in particular, from the stand-point of the analysis,—that is, a statement indicating the opinion which one who accepts the analysis may entertain concerning the character of this material,—is reserved for the writer's third paper (October, 1889), in which the last portions of Genesis will be treated.

2) The writer has endeavored to present not only the facts and considerations in favor of an analysis, but also the spirit of that analysis; the two are inseparable. Everything has been looked at from the point of view of an analyst. The delicate nature of the undertaking will be appreciated by all. In any effort to present, *without reference to one's own personal opinions*, the views of others, there is danger (1) that the presentation may be one unfair to the parties represented, or (2) that the writer may seem to have given his own position rather than the position of those for whom he speaks. So far as concerns the first difficulty, he freely acknowledges the short-comings of the paper. It was a question of selection and arrangement. Much necessarily had to be omitted. Points demanding a page could receive only a line. It is believed, however, that, upon the whole, a correct idea has been given of the critical views so far as they relate to these chapters. In justification of the particular method employed, he need only repeat what has been said before, that the treatment is intended not for specialists but for those who desire to enter upon an investigation of the subject for the first time.

Touching the second difficulty, it should be remembered that, after all, it is not a question of opinion, but of fact. It matters not what any particular critic may think or say. It is the duty of every man who studies this question to take up one by one the points suggested, and to decide for himself whether or not they are true. It is certainly possible to draw a line between the personal advocacy of a given position, and a merely professional presentation of that position; and yet it is equally possible for those who are so inclined, to fail to see the line, however clearly it may have been drawn.

#### ADDENDUM.

The reader is requested to note the following addendum after the paragraph numbered 6 on p. 48:

6b. The two stories of the Deluge may be summarized as follows:

P's account: Noah in his time was a most pious man; all flesh was corrupt. God reveals to Noah that he will destroy the earth by a flood, and commands him to build an ark in which he shall take his wife, his three sons, their wives, a pair of every kind of animals in order to preserve life upon the earth. In Noah's 600th year the deluge comes, in part from the subterranean depths, in part from the windows of heaven. He enters the ark with his family and the animals. The water increases; the ark swims; it reaches a height of 15 cubits above the highest mountains; everything upon the land perishes; for 150 days the water increases. Then the subterranean sources are restrained, the windows of heaven are closed, and after the 150 days the water begins to subside. On the 17th of the 7th month, the ark rests upon the mountains of Ararat. On the 1st of the 10th month the tops of the mountains are seen. In the 601st year, 1st month, 1st day of the month, the water has subsided; on the 27th of the 2d month the earth is dry. Noah leaves the ark. God blesses Noah (cf. 1:28), appoints him lord over the beasts of the earth, and authorizes him to eat flesh; but forbids the eating of blood, and warns against the slaying of men. God makes a covenant, promises that there shall not be another deluge, and gives the rainbow as the sign of the covenant. The covenant is the *goal* of the whole story.

J's account: [The announcement to Noah of a deluge, of a command to build the ark is omitted.] Yahweh calls Noah and his family to enter the ark, together with animals, the clean by sevens, the unclean by twos, because within seven days he will bring a forty-day rain upon the earth to destroy all life; Noah obeys. After seven days, the rain begins; it falls forty days and forty nights. Yahweh closes up Noah in the ark. In the forty days the ark rises above the earth. All living beings except Noah perish. Then the rain stops; Noah opens the window of the ark and sends a bird to ascertain the condition of the water, first a raven, then a dove, and seven days later the dove again, who this time brings an olive leaf; then, after another seven days, the dove is sent but does not return. Then he takes off the covering of the ark and finds that the earth is dry. [The statement concerning the departure from the ark is also omitted.] Having left the ark, he builds an altar, offers of the clean animals and fowls an offering to Yahweh, who accepts it and declares that, in view of the fact that man's heart is evil from his youth, he will not again interfere with nature's order and laws.



BABYLONIAN LETTER.—THE JOSEPH SHEMTOB COLLECTION OF BABYLONIAN ANTIQUITIES RECENTLY PURCHASED FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BY ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, PH. D.,

Now at Baghdad, Turkey.

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The above, so-called, *Joseph Shemtob* collection of antiquities was purchased on July 21, 1888, for the University of Pennsylvania. The most important tablets—about 175 in number—have been numbered, catalogued and packed in glass-top cases. The whole collection has been shipped direct to Philadelphia, and it is hoped that it will arrive on or before October 15th.

Speaking generally, this lot of tablets is a most valuable one. It contains pieces of almost every description, e. g. cylinders, cone, mortar, bricks, land-grant, contracts, case-tablet, astronomical, astrological, omen, liturgical, letter, practice tablets, etc., etc. Again, while almost all of the tablets are of an exceedingly early date, there are several of a correspondingly late date.

These tablets have been numbered after the method used by the British Museum, viz., J. S. 7-21-88-1 = Joseph Shemtob, July 21, 1888, No. 1, etc. A short description of a few of the most important may be of interest.

J. S. 7-21-88-1. A large barrel cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar. This cylinder is the largest and most perfect one in existence and contains some additional facts not to be found on any published, or unpublished, cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar. It is in a perfect state of preservation. Length, 26 cms.; circumference at top, 45 cms.; at base, 47 cms., and in middle, 55 cms. Compare photograph.

J. S. 7-21-88-2. A large alabaster vase, cracked lengthwise through the middle. It is the largest and finest specimen yet found. It is inscribed with a quadrilingual inscription, containing the words, "Xerxes, the great king." Height, 25 cms.; circumference at top, 40 cms., and at base, 73 cms. This vase has been examined by Sayce, Pinches, Strassmaier, Brünnow, and others, and there is no doubt that it is genuine. It has been mended, in a most satisfactory way, by Mr. Ready, Jr., of the British Museum. Compare photograph.

J. S. 7-21-88-3. A Hammurabi cone, containing two columns of 44 and 36 lines respectively. The cone proper is 12 cms. high and 28.7 cms. in circumference. Col. I. is almost perfectly preserved. Col. II. is badly broken, some parts

being entirely lost. For a fuller account of this most interesting cone, see a future number of *HEBRAICA*. Compare also photograph.

J. S. 7-21-88-4. A mortar of Burnaburiaš, 13-14 cms. high and 40.5 cms. in circumference. This mortar contains a non-Semitic inscription, in archaic characters, of 27 lines—one of which is double—with rather a deep groove between each line. The inscription is very well preserved, only one or two places being illegible. The whole space, however, not occupied by the inscription is broken out to a depth of 6-7 cms. Inside depth of mortar is 9.5 cms. It is of solid stone. Some are inclined to regard this mortar as a gate socket. Cf. photograph.

J. S. 7-21-88-6. An Esarhaddon brick, containing an inscription of 11 lines, four of which are double. This brick is perfectly preserved, 17 cms. long; 7.5 cms. wide, and 6.5 thick.

J. S. 7-21-88-7. A large, broken brick of Nebuchadnezzar, containing 15-16 lines of inscription. The upper corner of the right side is broken off. Inscription, so far as it is preserved, is quite legible. 22 cms. long; 19.3 wide, and 8.5 thick.

J. S. 7-21-88-8. Large astrological tablet of yellowish clay, dated in the month Šebatu of the seventh year of Nabopolassar. Extreme length, 15.5 cms.; width, 12.5 cms., and extreme thickness, 3 cms. The lower end of the obverse and upper end of the reverse are broken away. The characters are extremely small, but very legible. With the exception of one paragraph, deep grooves separate the lines. The tablet was originally much longer, as can be seen from the graduated thickness. It has been cleaned and repaired by Mr. Ready.

J. S. 7-21-88-9. Astronomical tablet of black, reddish, burnt clay. Obverse in paragraphs and reverse in four columns. Characters on obverse rather difficult and illegible. On reverse much clearer and plainer. Original size of tablet was, perhaps, 2 or 2½ times its present size. Length, 9.5 cms.; width, 12.6 cms., and extreme thickness, 2 cms. This tablet is very important. It contains astronomical and mathematical calculations of the rising and setting of the planets, mathematical calculations of the new and full moon for the years 154, 142, 155 and 115 of the Arsacide era. Dated in the year 161 of the same era. Father Strassmaier has copied this tablet and he will give his copy with notes in a future number of *HEBRAICA*.

J. S. 7-21-88-10. A reddish-gray contract tablet dated on the 14th of Ululu II., in the fifth year of Kandalanu. This tablet is perfectly preserved and it is written in very legible characters.

J. S. 7-21-88-11. Fine contract, with perfect seals on all sides—seven in number—almost perfectly preserved. It is dated on the 18th of Šebatu, in the sixth year of Darius (Da-ri-ia-uš), "king of Babylon, king of countries." Length, 6.3 cms.; width, 8.2 cms.; thickness, 2 cms. The characters are exceedingly clear and the seals very valuable.

J. S. 7-21-88-12. Contract tablet, perfectly preserved, dated on the fifth of Tašritu, in the first year of Artaxerxes (Ar-tak-šad-su).

J. S. 7-21-88-18. Contract tablet, in good state of preservation, dated on the twenty-third of Nisanu, in the first year of Xerxes (Aḫ-ši-ka-ar-ši).

Nos. 19 and 20 are Hammurabi tablets; Nos. 22-25 are fragments of barrel cylinders; Nos. 41, 42 and 43 are Abéšu' tablets—a new king, tablets of whose reign have not been found as yet in any of the collections belonging to the British Museum; No. 63, contract of Neriglassar; No. 95 is an architectural tablet in non-Semitic; 142 is archaic fragment of Abéšu'.

Almost all of the remaining contract, case, tithe, memorandum, etc., tablets belong to Ammi-satana, Ammi-zaduga, Samsu-satana, Samsu-iluna, etc.

In the next number of *HEBRAICA*, I hope to give a short account of the so-called *Khabaza* collection, purchased from Mr. Joseph Shemtob, for the University of Pennsylvania, on August 15, 1888.

London, Sept. 10, 1888.

## SEMITIC STUDIES IN AMERICA.

ADDRESSES MADE AT A RECEPTION TENDERED BY DR. WILLIAM PEPPER,  
PROVOST OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO THE MEMBERS  
OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, OCTOBER 31, 1888.

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### THE PRESENT STATUS OF SEMITIC STUDIES IN THIS COUNTRY.<sup>1</sup>

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The addresses here published were delivered at a reception tendered by Dr. William Pepper, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, to the members of the American Oriental Association during the recent fall session of the society. It being the first time that the Oriental Association was to convene in Philadelphia, the local committee of arrangements deemed the occasion which marked the formal recognition of the efforts made of recent years by the University of Pennsylvania to further Oriental and more particularly Semitic studies and research, a fit one for the discussion of such a topic as "The place of Semitic Languages in the University and the Theological Seminary." In response to the invitation extended to them, Dr. W. Hayes Ward, the vice-president of the association, Prof<sup>r</sup> Harper, of Yale University, and Brown, of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, consented to speak on the subject. After these gentlemen had been heard, Dr. Pepper called upon a number of the many distinguished scholars present for further remarks, and in each case the response was as hearty as it was appropriate. The propriety, and we may add the importance, of giving the addresses made on this significant occasion a more permanent form by publication in such a medium as "HEBRAICA" will be universally recognized, and we have no doubt welcomed by all those having the advancement of higher studies in this country at heart. Apart from their intrinsic value, the most significant feature of these addresses is the tone of hopefulness which pervades them. The outlook for the future of Semitic studies is indeed promising. And it may not be considered inappropriate if, by way of an introduction to this publication, I attempt a rapid survey of the present status of the study in this country.

Semitic research is of recent growth in the United States. Ten years ago but little attention was paid to Semitic philology and Semitic literatures, with the single exception of Hebrew.<sup>2</sup> While the other great branch of Oriental philology, Sanskrit, had already secured for itself, in consequence of its close bearings on classical philology, that conspicuous place in the university curriculum which it merits, the provisions, even at our best institutions of learning, for Semitics were painfully inadequate. There were a few private scholars devoting themselves to the study, here and there was a chair for Semitic languages, generally filled by men whose specialty lay in an entirely different direction, perhaps one or two colleges which could boast of a small Semitic library; but that was all. Since this time a

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<sup>1</sup> By Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph. D., University of Pennsylvania.

<sup>2</sup> For an interesting and valuable sketch of Hebrew studies in this country, see Prof. G. F. Moore's article in *Stade's Zeitschrift fuer alttest. Wis.*, 1888, I., pp. 1-42.

momentous change has taken place. Along with that impetus given during the past decade to higher education in general, there has sprung up a fruitful and a rather remarkable interest in Semitic languages and their literatures.

We do not believe that we are going wrong in dating the new era from the advent of the late Prof. Murray to the chair of Semitic languages at the Johns Hopkins University. To this institution belongs the credit of having been the first to accord to the subject the same prominence as that given to Sanskrit. Prof. Murray's ministrations were unfortunately cut short by his untimely death; but the example of the Johns Hopkins in calling to its aid the services of a specialist, thoroughly trained for his task, was not lost upon the country. Prof. Murray himself was succeeded by Paul Haupt in 1883, whose reputation as one of the greatest of living Assyriologists had preceded him, while of the more prominent colleges, Harvard, Yale, the University of Pennsylvania and Columbia College have since fallen in line. Shortly before Prof. Haupt was called to Baltimore from the University of Göttingen, Dr. D. G. Lyon came to Cambridge, and with Prof. C. H. Toy now conducts a well-equipped Semitic department at that place. In 1885 the University of Pennsylvania appointed Dr. Morris Jastrow, Jr., lecturer on Semitic languages, and the following year strengthened its faculty by the addition of Drs. John P. Peters and H. V. Hilprecht. A year later Yale created a chair of Semitic languages and made a most auspicious choice in the selection of Prof. Wm. R. Harper to fill it, supplementing the appointment a few months later by the election of Dr. Robert F. Harper as instructor in Semitic languages. The same year a step in advance was taken by Columbia College. With Dr. Tracy Peck, previously appointed instructor in Semitic languages, there was associated Dr. Richard J. H. Gottheil as lecturer on Syriac language and literature; not long afterwards a chair for Rabbinical literature was established at that same institution, and Dr. Gottheil chosen to fill it. The growth of the Semitic department at the Johns Hopkins University was emphasized in 1887 by the election of Dr. Cyrus Adler as assistant to Prof. Haupt. Among other colleges and universities which make provision for Semitic studies, there are to be mentioned the University of Missouri, where the chair is filled by Dr. James S. Blackwell, the University of Wisconsin, where there is an instructor in Hebrew, the Cincinnati University, where Prof. Sproull, in addition to his duties as Professor of Latin, finds time apparently to fill a chair for Hebrew and Arabic, not to omit Wellesley, which has also its instructor in Hebrew. Crossing over into Canada, we have Prof. J. F. McCurdy, professor of Semitic languages at the McGill University, in Montreal, and Prof. Hirschfelder, for Hebrew language and literature, in University College, Toronto. A few years more will undoubtedly witness still further progress. The University of Michigan has, if I mistake not, made some temporary provision for instruction in Hebrew, and it is only a question of time when a regular Professor for Semitic languages will be added to the faculty of that flourishing institution. Cornell for some reason or other has not filled the chair for Oriental languages, made vacant about two years ago, but, it is safe to assume, will do so ere long. What position the newly founded universities, the Stanford and the Clark, will assume towards Semitic languages, is not yet known, but with the selection of men at their head imbued with a high ideal of what a university ought to be, it is not likely that this branch will be overlooked.

Turning to the theological seminaries, we find the prominent ones, with scarcely an exception, laying the very greatest stress, at present, upon good training

in general Semitic philology. At the Union Theological Seminary courses are provided extending over the entire range of Semitic languages, with such eminent specialists as Profs. Brown and Briggs in charge. The same is the case at Andover, where Profs. G. F. Moore and Taylor divide the subject between them. At the Divinity School in Philadelphia, Prof. Peters has been giving instruction in Assyrian for several years, Dr. J. A. Craig is similarly engaged at Lane Theological Seminary, Dr. Price, at the Baptist Seminary in Morgan Park, and Prof. Lansing has been doing good work for Arabic in the Seminary of the Reformed Dutch Church at New Brunswick, N. J. As for Hebrew alone, there is, as a matter of course not a single theological institution laying claim to any scholarship where this language is not being studied.<sup>1</sup> True, this was already the case at the beginning of the new era to which we have referred, but the method of instruction has materially changed in these institutions since that time. The critical appliances of modern scholarship have taken the place of the old unscientific methods. Philology, archæology and history have been introduced as points of view from which Hebrew is to be regarded by the side of the former exclusively theological position.

Supplementing the work of the university and the seminary, there is in the third place to be mentioned the American Institute of Hebrew, one of the many creations of the indefatigable Prof. Harper, who has done more to further the study of Hebrew in particular and of Semitic languages in general than any other single person in the country. Established in 1880, the membership of the school in 1887 counted 611, spread over all parts of the United States. The Institute provides for instruction in the Cognate Semitic languages as well as Hebrew, and it is encouraging to learn that of the above number 18 availed themselves of the advantages offered. If it be borne in mind that only 19 were doing advanced work in Hebrew, the number making a study of general Semitic philology will be seen to be much larger than we had reason to expect. In addition to teaching Semitic languages by correspondence during the entire year, the Institute has opened Summer Schools of Hebrew at various places during the months of vacation. In these schools quite as much attention is paid to the other Semitic languages as to Hebrew. The attendance at these schools is increasing to a surprising degree from year to year, and their success is only another sign of the growing interest in the subject. The same is to be said of the classes at universities, which are steadily growing from year to year. Here we rest our hasty and imperfect sketch. Enough has been said to show the grounds upon which those who speak in the following pages build their hopes for the future. Much still remains to be done before America can be expected to enrich Semitic scholarship with contributions to rival in number and to equal in value those which pour in constantly upon us from the other side of the Atlantic. Thoroughly equipped libraries in *all* branches of Semitic philology and literature are necessary for this purpose, and above all *original* material in the shape of Hebrew, Arabic and Syriac manuscripts, cuneiform tablets and all manner of Oriental antiquities are necessary. Until we have *original* material we need look in vain for *original* scholarship. But all will come in time.

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<sup>1</sup> The list of O. T. instructors in *HEBRAICA*, October, 1885, gives the names of over 125 Professors of Hebrew in Theological Seminaries.

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT.<sup>1</sup>

Semitic philology is one of the very last studies to be taken up in this country. It is scarce a dozen years old. This may seem strange when we remember that Hebrew was a college study from the foundation of Harvard College, and for fifty years half a hundred professors have taught Hebrew in as many theological seminaries. But Hebrew was not studied as a language to be compared with other languages, but only exegetically, as a means of getting, or seeming to get, at the meaning of the Old Testament. It is true that in Moses Stuart we had, early in the century, a great scholar, who did more than any other man to introduce us to German erudition, but he left behind him no man that was his equal. With a very few distinguished exceptions, the Hebrew professor was not more than a fair translator, often not even that. We have laughed over the story of the Pennsylvania Dutch professor of Hebrew who spoke of it as the language which he had *siebenmal gelernt und siebenmal vergiesen*. When we pass beyond Hebrew nothing was known of any other Semitic language, except by a few very scholarly missionaries, like Dr. Van Dyck, the great Arabic scholar of Beirût, or Drs. Riggs and Schauffler, of Constantinople. I must not forget that Professor Murdoch, however, managed to translate the Syriac Peshitto into English, which was an unexampled feat. I do not remember that any one else, up to a few years ago, studied Arabic in this country, except Professor Salisbury, or was known to have learned Syriac, or that any Christian scholar had ever read any Talmudic.

This was very different from the case with Indo-Germanic studies, and the reason is not wholly obscure. Indo-Germanic philology became a science with the discovery of the Sanskrit, and our president, Professor Whitney, in his youth was attracted to the new study, and became the father of all such as read the Vedas. But Semitic philology could not easily be made a science, because no solvent like the Sanskrit had been found for its various tongues. Renan began a Comparative History of Semitic languages and dropped it at the end of the first volume. When I began the study of Hebrew I learned that the verb כָּפַר *kaphar* was connected with the English *cover*, although *cover* is from the French *couvrir*, which is from the Latin *coopere*, which is from *co* and *operio*, which is from *ob* and *pario*.

The decipherment of the Assyrian inscriptions gave us, as Dr. Hincks has truly said, a language which is to Semitic very much what Sanskrit is to Aryan tongues. It was not until our younger scholars began to study Assyrian that we may be said to have known anything in this country of Semitic philology. I have been a member of this Oriental Society for twenty years, I suppose, and it is only within the last ten years that I have seen this new growth. Allow me a little personal reminiscence.

It was the good fortune of having a father who loved the Hebrew language which turned my attention to the Semitic branches of Oriental studies. Under his tuition I began the study of languages with Hebrew. In the theological seminary, not needing instruction in Hebrew, when I wanted to read the Gospels in Syriac and to dabble a very little in the Mishna, I found no one who would have attempted to teach me. In 1868 I purchased the first part of Norris's Assyrian Dictionary, which had just appeared. Now, when every principal university and theological seminary in the country has its professor of Assyrian, it is difficult for

<sup>1</sup> By William Hayes Ward, D. D., LL. D., Editor of *The Independent*.

me to conceive that twenty years ago there was not a single person in the country who had read an Assyrian text, even in a printed book. Indeed the earliest Assyrian type had but just come from the foundry. The French type had been cast for the Imperial Press ten years before, and the Germans had not yet begun either to print or to study Assyrian. A busy life not allowing me to give more than fragments of time to the study, and being unable to pursue the reading of texts, it has yet been to me a great pleasure to watch the growth of a strong school of American students of Assyrian and other Semitic languages. No sooner had Schrader and Delitzsch introduced the study of Assyrian among the strangely dilatory Germans than our own young men, who had begun to go in crowds to the German universities, took up the study with great eagerness. Harvard led the way in the person of Professor Lyon, and Johns Hopkins called the strongest of the younger German scholars to be the head of its Semitic department. Other institutions followed, until now there are in this country more men, I imagine, that offer to teach this language than in all Europe. May I venture to say to them that it is much to be hoped that they will not rest satisfied with doing over what European scholars have done, but will conquer new texts and open fresh fields of study. The new texts brought by the Wolfe expedition to the Metropolitan Museum ought to be eagerly seized by our young experts and immediately translated. Still greater treasures are to be hoped from the new expedition sent out by the University of Pennsylvania, whose first fruits we shall see here to-night. I very much regret that the field, vastly inferior, to be sure, to that in the British Museum, but still well worth study, offered by the tablets which have been for some years in this country, has not yet been entered. I do not remember that a single American text has yet been published by an American scholar. But that reproach will, I am sure, be very speedily wiped away.

Within even fewer years a small, but very active, school of Syriac students has arisen in the United States which has done admirably original work. I will not attempt to detail the new texts translated and published by our fellow members, Drs. Hall, Gottheil and Frothingham, but it is greatly to the credit of our society that they seek so enthusiastically new fields, and add to the world's knowledge of this important literature and of the history connected with it.

The study of Arabic, important as it is, and unusual as have been the advantages from its pursuit by Americans, has been even more neglected by us than that of Syriac. I think the story is true, and it is less than ten years old, that when a student at Harvard offered a thesis on an Arabic subject for his doctor's degree, that institution could not find a professor competent to judge of its quality, and it had to be sent to the sole and only Arabic teacher in the country, Professor Salisbury at Yale. The President of Harvard determined that such a thing should not occur again, and he inaugurated the Semitic department of the university by securing the services of Professor Toy. He now can count one or two younger followers in the study of Arabic, who have yet their spurs to win by original research.

It is the special advantage of Semitic study that it is well within the reach of a good scholar's hope to embrace comfortably the whole circle of Semitic languages. This cannot be hoped by the students of Aryan philology. But the Hebrew languages are little more than dialects. While it is true that Arabic, or Assyrian, or Syriac, or Talmudic, might any of them alone task the best powers of



a scholar, yet any one man of good parts can easily learn to talk Arabic freely, and can easily have read the whole Hebrew literature, considerable Talmudic, the principal Syriac texts, and can be fairly familiar with Assyrian. When we come to the minor branches that exist only in limited inscriptions, a good Hebrew scholar could read the whole extant Phenician literature in a week or two, the Moabite stone in an hour or two, and the Palmyrene in three or four days. For the student of the science of language this is a magnificent advantage. His material is not unwieldy. What American scholar will attempt this task, and give us the completion of what Renan began, and do for the Semitic languages what Bopp did for the Aryan? The wonderful progress of the last ten years greatly encourages me to believe that America will yet lead the world in this study. Our young scholars have already shown great zeal in following the lead of European guides. Will they, like our older Sanskrit students, and like our scholars in the natural sciences, geology, astronomy, botany, zoology, put themselves on a par with their teachers and seek for new discoveries? I believe that the reconnoissance of the Wolfe expedition, and the new, better equipped and manned expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, will prove a stimulus which will be felt in all departments of Semitic study.

The attractiveness of Semitic studies explains the great attention lately paid to them. The world's remaining problems in the history of nations and of religions are to be answered by the students of Semitic languages. There is a current in history and there are outflows and eddies. The swift Euphrates had its multitude of affluent canals which carried its waters to irrigate a limited territory; but he who would study its course might neglect these, and would follow the main, strong river from its mouth back to its source. The study of American languages, of the African languages (except the old Egyptian), of nearly all Turanian languages, of the Chinese and Japanese, or of the history or art of the peoples who spoke them, may be very interesting; but it is the pursuit only of the revolving eddy or of the canal soon exhausted. The great streams of fruitful, self-supplying and enlarging culture only possess supreme interest and importance and must be followed back to their source by those who would learn how man came to be what he is and to have what he possesses. What is the beginning of art? Greek history takes you back to Asia Minor, and from thence you must go back to a Semitic origin. What is the beginning of civilization? You must go back of Greece to Semitic Phenicia, and back of that, again, either to Egypt or to Semitic Babylonia. What is the beginning of religion? Already the classical religions, and those of India and China as well, are proved to be but eddies in the current. The real stream, is nothing but Semitic; and it is Semitic studies that must answer the Mosaic problem, and that must explain the source and authority of those beliefs about the creation of the world, the deluge and the dispersion of man which we have inherited from those wonderful chapters of Genesis. I repeat my confidence that our new, young, enthusiastic school of Semitic scholars, which this last ten years has seen arising among us, will have the ambition and patience to contribute much to the solution of these problems.

SEMITIC STUDY IN THE UNIVERSITY.<sup>1</sup>

The term "Semitic study" as ordinarily understood is apt to be taken in a narrow sense; while, as understood by specialists, it is a term almost incapable of limitation. Let us use it, neither in its very narrow, nor in its very broad sense; as including, on the one hand, the study of the grammar and lexicography both of individual languages and of the family; but on the other hand, the study of the literature of these different peoples and their history: the study of the growth and mutual relations of Semitic speech, but at the same time a study of the growth and mutual relations of Semitic thought, of Semitic civilizations. The field is too broad perhaps for one man to cover even superficially; and yet it is all one field; it is possible, of course, to divide into many divisions, still it forms in itself one great division.

The term "University" as ordinarily employed is even more indefinite than that of "Semitic study." There is in our country no standard by which to define it. It may be an institution with thousands of students, or with only tens; with a dozen great departments, or made up exclusively of a preparatory school. Here again, we must have an understanding. Perhaps it may be taken to include under-graduate work, and post-graduate work, the former that of the Junior and Senior academic years, the latter, work of a non-professional character. And now upon the topic of Semitic study in the University, we may take up very hurriedly two questions: (1) What has been done? (2) What can be done?

(1) *What has been done?*

(a) In years *long gone by*, Semitic study, or speaking more accurately, Hebrew study, constituted a part of the required college curriculum. We read with much relish of the great feats performed in those days. The severity of the labor, in many cases, and zeal with which it was pursued, alike interest and stimulate us. In those times when only ministers received an education, it was natural and proper that this subject should receive a large share of attention; and besides, there was less to be studied then than now. Science was almost unknown; modern languages altogether ignored. Latin, Greek and Hebrew reigned supreme. It is to be noted, however, that the Semitic study of this age was theological, not philological; that it was almost exclusively Hebrew study, and that too, unscientific.

(b) But when others than ministers began to study; when new subjects began to be introduced, there came a change. Hebrew study, meagre and unsatisfactory as it had been, dropped out. In a few institutions here and there, in all not ten, a pitifully small amount of work was being done, under the guidance of an instructor who, in most cases, knew only enough to keep ahead of his class. It is true that during this second period there were in several institutions lectures or recitations upon the Old Testament History and Literature. This, according to our definition, was Semitic study; but the work even when carried on was practically a *farce*, unattended unless compulsory; and when attended, valueless. From these two periods, however, we may pass to a *third*, to which we may assign the past ten or twelve years; and here a different condition of things con-

<sup>1</sup> By William R. Harper, Ph. D., Professor in Yale University.

fronts us :—Partly on account of the interest attaching to the revision of the Old Testament, partly on account of the strange and startling disclosures of German critics, partly also because of the wonderful value, from every point of view, of the treasures hidden in ancient ruins so recently brought to light, and still more recently beginning to be understood,—for all these reasons, and perhaps others, Semitic study in the University, as well as elsewhere, has been born again, born to a life far more vigorous than the old life, because more widely extended, more deeply rooted ; and what do we see (I refer now *only* to our Universities) ?

1) Classes for Hebrew study, larger and smaller, for academic students, in *all* the leading, and in a majority of the smaller institutions.

2) Classes in Hebrew for post-graduates.

3) Classes in Assyrian, consisting of ten, twenty, and even twenty-five,—larger than any found in German Universities.

4) Under-graduate and post-graduate classes in Arabic, Aramaic, Syriac and even Ethiopic.

5) Courses of lectures on Semitic topics, attended by scores and even hundreds.

6) Under-graduate classes in many colleges studying Semitic literatures, as they would study Roman and Greek literature.

7) Classes and bands of men, outside of college work, carrying on systematic and scientific courses of Semitic study.

We find the under-graduates engaged not only in study of Hebrew, but also in that of Assyrian and Arabic. Post-graduates, by scores, the whole or greater part of whose time is given to Semitic studies. University men of all classes and departments engaged in work which comes properly under the head of "Semitic study."

## (2) *What can be done?*

What has been done *can* be done, and more. Here I may be compelled to repeat, in a measure, what has already been said ; for in so far as "What has been done" continues to be "What can be done," I have anticipated the present point.

To be sure the same work cannot be done in every institution, but after all there must be a general sameness.

1) *Hebrew*, at all events, can be taught. With a fair class the elements of the language should be mastered in a course of two hours a week running through a year, or four hours a week during half a year. The maturity and experience of the students who take up the subject, enable them to accomplish much more than would otherwise be possible. But there may also be a second course for members of the Senior Class, who perhaps have taken the first course during their Junior year. Here a host of subjects present themselves, selected chapters illustrating the literature of a special period ; the exhaustive study of a single writer, or the consideration of a special topic. Meanwhile the grammar may be reviewed, the principles grasped more firmly, the vocabulary increased, the details of syntax examined. And such courses will be adapted to the wants of post-graduates as well as under-graduates.

2) *Assyrian* may be taken up ; not with profit by all ; but certainly to the advantage of those who have special aptitude for language and particular interest in Hebrew. In a two hours' course extending through but a single year, should no

more time be found for it, the important phonograms and ideograms (say 800) can be learned, the principles of the grammar obtained, the vocabulary mastered and compared with that of the sister languages, the syllabaries analyzed, and some of the more interesting historical texts interpreted from the cuneiform. Experience has shown that Assyrian is far easier to grasp than Arabic. To be sure, what was impossible ten years ago has now been rendered possible by reason of the investigations which have been made during this period and which have been published. In a second course, more difficult material may be taken up, and even original work on the part of the student encouraged.

3) *Arabic* should not be forgotten in the overwhelming interest now centering in Assyriology. Here again under-graduates as well as post-graduates may be urged to take hold, and though little comparatively can be accomplished in this or any other subject in so short a time, a beginning can be made, and an interest can be aroused which, with proper guidance, will lead in later years to much that may prove valuable.

4) I shall not speak of Syriac, Aramaic, or Ethiopic, in one or more of which something may also be done; but special emphasis may be laid upon courses of lectures more or less technical covering Semitic literature, Semitic history, the growth and development of Semitic religious thought, Semitic civilization, and kindred topics. It is without doubt true, as has been shown by actual experiment, that many men, in all our institutions, engaged specially perhaps in another department, desire to have at least a general knowledge of the latest facts and theories in the Semitic department. There is no subject more attractive to the mind of a thoughtful man, whatever be his specialty, than that of Semitic archæology.

5) I have not mentioned philology as such, although this too furnishes an important field for university work. There is, then, much that can be done. Here, as everywhere, all things, speaking broadly, are possible, provided only that there be energy and enthusiasm. It is true that not all even of the better institutions, and here belong our state universities, have as yet made provision for Semitic work upon the scale here indicated. Too much must not be expected at once. Ten years have done much; the next ten will do more. There should be no flagging of the interest which has already arisen. It must not even be allowed to stand still. It must be more vigorously cultivated in the future than in the past, for three reasons:

1) Because of the long season of past neglect, to atone for which, and to compensate for which, a mighty effort will be necessary.

2) Because of the present necessity of the case, a necessity born of the peculiar and, may I add, providential circumstances of the present quarter-century, marked as it is by discoveries of so vital a character.

3) Because of the essential importance of the study itself, an importance now appreciated not only by those who make this study their profession, but as well by intelligent, broad-minded and broad-hearted men in every line of labor.

SEMITIC STUDY IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.<sup>1</sup>

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It is a matter of congratulation for students of theology that their professional studies connect themselves at so many points with the wide interests of general scholarship. All the clergymen present will bear me out in saying that professional life tends to movement in a somewhat narrow groove. This is not peculiar to the ministerial profession; it is the common danger of all specialists,—but we, every now and then, become particularly aware of it in our own case. Occasions like the present are therefore of great interest to us, because they set us at the point where our wheel of theological study gears into the intricate system of mental activities that constitutes what we, in the broadest sense, term scholarship. There is no clerical way of learning a language. There is no theological philology.

And, certainly, whoever may suppose himself at liberty to slight Semitic studies, the student of divinity is not free to do so. By far the greater part of the records which he esteems sacred, which are the chief postulate of his life-work and the most important source of the truths he is to expound, have come down to him in a Semitic dress. The obligation of scholarship rests upon him in an especial sense, to see to it that his acquaintance with this Oriental garb of the revelation he has to deal with makes the nearest possible approach to mastery. If he willfully neglects to make this effort, he is not simply foolish, he is recreant.

But mastery in this special field is not possible without a wider reach. The man who knows well Hebrew and the biblical Aramaic, knows, and must know, a great deal more. The Hebrew Grammar of the future, the Hebrew Lexicon of the future, will be produced by men whose range of familiar study embraces the cognate languages. They will probably be theologians, as those whose attainments in these lines we now respect, and whose works we now use, have been; to do their work as it should be done they must have some claim also to the title of Semitic philologist.

But there are other aspects of Semitic study which make it of special concern to the theological scholar. A very large proportion of those problems and tasks which lie in the pathway of Semitic philology are of such a nature that their solution and discharge are of the utmost importance to theological learning. Think a moment. Besides the questions of grammar and lexicography to which allusion has just been made, we have the Textual Criticism of the Old Testament, with its demand for the thorough study of the versions,—Syriac, Ethiopic, even Arabic,—not to forget the Targums; we have the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, with the same demand under somewhat different conditions; we have the question as to the origin of the Semitic family,—largely dependent on the phenomena of language; we have the involved and fascinating inquiries into the relation between the religious conceptions of the Hebrews and those of their brethren in the family, especially the Phenicians and the Babylonio-Assyrians,—inquiries which can be answered only by the aid of the literary monuments; we have the interweaving of the Hebrew history with that of the great empires of Western Asia; we have the rise of Jewish learning, pre-Christian and later; we have the early history of the Christian church, and the Syriac literature bearing upon

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<sup>1</sup> By Francis Brown, Ph. D., D. D., Professor in Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

it; we have Mohammedanism and the Koran ;—coming down no further, and not considering at all the practical uses of the newer Semitic dialects in intercourse with the modern Oriental, we have, in the hasty and by no means exhaustive catalogue just given an indication of the manifold ways in which Semitic learning is related to theological scholarship, and of the impossibility that theological seminaries should be indifferent to the advance of Semitic science.

It is undoubtedly true that the practical end which our theological seminaries must keep in view acts as a restriction upon the acquirement of vast, special knowledge. These seminaries have not, it may be admitted, produced many philologists. But it ought to be remembered that in no country is Semitic philology, according to the severe standard which recent achievements have set up, a really venerable science. If in this matter we are behind other countries, we are, after all, not so very far behind in point of years. And I feel impelled to say a word in behalf of those teachers of Hebrew in our theological schools who for some time were the only Semitic instructors we had, and who, in the face of the urgent, practical demands of the clerical profession, maintained their own zeal for at least the study of Hebrew, roused the enthusiasm of their pupils, laid the foundation, and helped to prepare the way for the broader, completer Semitic study of the present and still more of the generation to come.

I must ask your pardon, if I have seemed to forget that I am not addressing theological students. I have felt anxious to emphasize our common interests as Orientalists, for which, I think, we may all be grateful. But before I sit down, I beg leave to touch upon one very obvious, and, from the scholar's stand-point, at least, a very practical matter.

It will perhaps be objected, as it has been, that as a matter of fact our theological seminaries are not able to furnish their students with anything but a rudimentary Semitic equipment, — that philology cannot look with any great hope to these institutions. The main purpose of the divinity schools, and their comparatively short term of study, must largely account for the considerable measure of truth there is in this objection. But the point I now wish to make is, that you cannot fairly expect the theological schools to turn out great Semitists, so long as students make their first acquaintance with a Semitic language after they enter the seminary. Put your colleges and universities for general training into a condition in which they can offer Semitic studies freely to their students; spread, by these opportunities, by summer schools, and by the co-operation of scholars in philological work, an atmosphere of enthusiasm for such studies; give us at the seminaries a basis on which we may fairly rest the demand for some Semitic knowledge on the part of the students who come to us; and then see if we are not able to make more and better contributions to the growing number of Semitic scholars in America. By such provision you will not only pave the way for our students to become better theologians; you will prepare them to attack the problems to which I have already referred, which bear so closely upon theology, although they are, of their nature, philological, and belong to all scholars; you will incite us, who are instructors, to larger attainments and to more far-reaching, scholarly plans, and you will create a large and influential public which will feel a deep interest in all Semitic work, and will contribute to the realization of enterprises dear to the scholar's heart.

It is no new thing that the American college should thus encourage Semitic learning. Reference has already been made to the older Hebrew work in this

country. My own alma mater,—to mention but one modest institution,—Dartmouth College, had, three generations ago, a “Professor of Learned Languages” named John Smith, who near the beginning of this century (in 1803) felt the need of a Hebrew Grammar which he wrote and found himself able to issue. It was dedicated “To the Learned and Pious of All Descriptions, particularly the Clergy; in the United States of America.” There was a demand for such books among students. Such instances as this remind us, of course, that once a much larger proportion of our college-bred men entered the ministry than now, and that the theological seminary of the present was once not thought of. But they suggest to us, also, the possibilities of the present time, and the hope that on a larger scale, with richer equipment, and purposes both deeper and broader, our institutions of learning will, in the days that are just upon us, establish and generously foster the study of the philology, archæology, history and literature of the great Semitic race.

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#### BRIEF ADDRESSES IN CONNECTION WITH THE SAME TOPICS.<sup>1</sup>

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There is much that is encouraging in the present condition of Semitic studies in this country. Semitic science has had the same obstacles to overcome as other sciences—the lack of conveniently arranged and large collections of materials, and the absence of long established traditions of study; these are necessary shortcomings of our youth. But we are making steady and reasonably rapid progress in these respects. We are adding to our materials in printed books, manuscripts and inscriptions, and to our teaching and working force. In addition to the widespread interest in the biblical side of Semitic work, there is a constantly increasing scientific interest. The enormous extent of the field, and the importance of all its sections, textual, grammatical, historical, archæological and theological, are recognized. We have had in the past and now have a fine array of excellent scholars, and the progress of study is constantly raising our standard of scholarship. We have come to see that the best results for our science will be gained by the example of thoroughly trained men. We have the advantage of a large general public and we are devoting ourselves to the production of specialists, from whom must come the real knowledge and enthusiasm of the community. The orderly shaping of science, the discovery of truth, the proper estimation and interpretation of facts, all those things that enter into the formation of genuine interest must be the work of men who devote their lives to special studies, and acquire the knowledge and intelligence which are necessary for correct judgments. Every department of Semitic study stands in need of specialists; there are Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac and Assyrian texts to be edited and explained, large sections of history to be cleared up, studies in art to be carried on, grammatical forms and constructions to be analyzed. There is need of cordial co-operation between Semitic and Indo-European students—not that the two families of languages are to be brought violently together, but that each group of scholars may learn from the methods of the other. The mass of work to be done is great, and we have in America the possibility of a mass of workers who may do great things.

C. H. TOY.

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<sup>1</sup> By Professors Toy, Haupt, Green, and Lyon.

Professor Haupt said that when he first came to this country some years since he had been deeply impressed with the great interest taken in Semitic studies, and to his genuine satisfaction this bent for Oriental philology and archæology had been increasing, thanks to the enthusiasm and energy of several of our most prominent scholars. We could hardly complain any longer that these studies did not meet with an adequate recognition. New chairs of Semitic philology had been established at quite a number of colleges and universities, and collections of Oriental antiquities had been started in various centres of learning. What we needed was a little more co-operation and centralization. Our representatives of Semitic studies should try above all to get a series of Semitic dictionaries adapted for the use of beginners and written in the English language. Nothing was more sorely needed at present than a good Hebrew-English lexicon, and it was most gratifying to know that this want would soon be met by two of our biblical philologists eminently qualified for such a work. In philology as well as archæology we should try gradually to emancipate ourselves from Europe. There was no longer need for supporting European enterprise in biblical archæology with American money. We could have a national society of biblical archæology just as strong as the London association of that name; and if all efforts in this direction could be properly united we might hope to have some day in this country a collection of biblical antiquities similar to those of the great national museums in European capitals. The interest had here in these investigations was certainly as widespread as in the old country, and a considerable number of students in Oriental philology and archæology frequenting European universities and museums consisted of Americans.

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I have listened with great interest to the able papers which we have heard to-night and to the remarks of the various speakers who have followed. I can readily understand the enthusiasm awakened by the pursuit of Semitic studies; and particularly by that branch of Semitic study which is of such recent origin and yet has sprung into such sudden and extraordinary prominence. I mean the language and literature of Assyria and Babylonia. The most brilliant literary feat on record is the deciphering of the cuneiform inscriptions and thus opening up to investigation rich treasures which had been buried for long ages, whose contents were altogether unknown and their very existence unsuspected. Written in strange characters which might be alphabetic, syllabic or idiographic, no one knew in what language, their purport and even the age to which they belonged a matter of doubtful conjecture, they have yielded to the patient skill and learning directed upon them, and have brought to light the history, the religion, the life and manners, the whole realm of thought of great empires whose existence was known, but in regard to almost everything that concerned them there was absolute ignorance. Through these researches, in which American scholars are taking an active and creditable part, we are now brought into familiar contact with the details of a long forgotten civilization and coming to know more of the ancient world than the ancients did themselves.

From the narrow and quiet corner in which my own limited range of study is pursued, I look out with admiration upon these broad and open fields which are cultivated with such zeal and success and bid the laborers God-speed! I recog-



nize with ever increasing gratification the numerous and important points of contact between the Old Testament and the various lines of inquiry, historical, philological, philosophical and religious in which such noble work is doing at the present time. Much welcome light has already come from this quarter in the way of illustration and of the confirmation or the correction of pre-existing opinions, tending to resolve obscure and difficult questions, and enabling us with greater accuracy and certainty to adjust the relations of the life and thought and recorded beliefs of the Hebrew people to those of surrounding nations in a remote antiquity. Much more light may doubtless be expected from explorations and investigations now in progress. We are all seekers after truth; and truth which is ascertained in one sphere is valid in every other, and must harmonize with and prove helpful to true science and sound learning in every department affected by it.

I wish to add a single word in order to emphasize a suggestion made in the admirable paper of Dr. Brown. The introduction of Hebrew and the cognate tongues as elective and graduate studies into colleges and universities is of great consequence to theological seminaries. If students continue to enter the divinity school with no previous knowledge of any Semitic tongue, and their entire first year must be given up to acquiring the rudiments of Hebrew and some tolerable facility in translating it, what is it possible to do for higher learning in this department in the limited time at our command? What could be done in New Testament studies if students entered as ignorant of Greek as they now are of Hebrew? But if our classes could begin with such a knowledge of Hebrew as the graduates of our colleges already possess of Greek,—if they could enter the seminary as far advanced as they now are at the end of the first year, there would be a foundation upon which to build; there would be some hope of their making high attainments in the interpretation and criticism of the Old Testament, and in associated branches of Semitic learning.

W. H. GREEN.

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Professor Lyon, of Harvard, spoke substantially as follows: "Gentlemen of the American Oriental Society, it seems to me particularly appropriate that our first meeting in this city should come just at this time. The University of Pennsylvania, one of the most recent of our schools to manifest special interest in Semitic studies, is now rapidly becoming an example to all others in this line of work. I refer particularly to the interest which they are displaying in the matter of Babylonian research. We have heard already this evening of the valuable Babylonian and Assyrian objects which Professor Peters, now on his way to Chaldea, has purchased for the university. The university is to be congratulated on having among its instructors a man who is willing to devote his time to the great subject of enlarging our knowledge by work done amid the ancient ruins. No friend of learning can do otherwise than rejoice at his success in securing the means for paying the expenses of the expedition, and we all hope for larger results than have yet been dreamed of. The very important period of the time of the Jewish exile in Babylon is as yet represented by few historical literary remains. While the records of the private and social life at Babylon during this time are sufficiently numerous for us to form a good idea of the influences to which the exiles were subject, we have as yet no native account of the deportation and return to Judea. The annals of Nebuchadnezzar must contain the one and

those of Cyrus the other, and these must have found a place in the royal archives at Babylon. What a glory it would be to American enterprise if the spade of the Philadelphia expedition should light upon these great treasures! We hope that this University may become the repository of many valuable objects of Babylonian and Assyrian antiquity, and we hope that the success of the present expedition may be an incentive to all our other institutions which have an interest in this line of research. This expedition, the direct descendant of the Wolfe expedition, shows what may be done in securing aid for the great cause of research. We are to congratulate ourselves also that two of the members of this society are now engaged in furthering scientific Semitic study by preparing a Hebrew dictionary which shall embody the latest results of scholarship, and you will all agree with me in wishing Doctors Briggs and Brown the greatest success in their work.

As to the special topic of the evening, Semitic study in America, I cannot do better than to say that I heartily endorse the wise and hopeful words which we have already heard from the speakers who have preceded me.

## ➤BOOK NOTICES.◀

### WORTABET'S ARABIC-ENGLISH DICTIONARY.\*

An Arabic-English dictionary has recently made its appearance from the Al-Muktataf press at Cairo, Egypt. It is edited by Prof. William Thomson Wortabet, Professor of English in the Egyptian Government School of Medicine and Pharmacy at Cairo. He was aided by his learned father, Rev. John Wortabet, M. D., of Beirut, Syria, and by Prof. Harvey Porter, B. A., of the Syrian Protestant College, at the same place. The work is dedicated by special permission to his Highness Mohammed Tewfik, Khedive of Egypt, "who has so highly promoted and patronized the cause of education among his people."

The book has 720 pages, is in a handy form, and the English type is especially good. The Arabic type is inferior to the German print, but is fairly clear, as much so as the Egyptian press has yet produced. The object of the work, as the editor suggests, "is to supply the want, long felt by many, of an accurate Arabic-English Dictionary which shall contain, within a moderate compass, the words most in use among Arabic classical writers, and which can be procured at a reasonable price."

A cursory glance at the compact volume before us would indicate that Prof. Wortabet has fairly attained the end in view. The dictionary is published at the moderate price of twelve shillings (\$3.00), postage included, and can be had direct from the Muktataf Press at Cairo, orders on London preferred. Prof. Porter's part of the work was in revising and in making an exhaustive comparison between it and the famous dictionary of Mr. Lane's, which stops short at the letter *mim* (م). The result is a dictionary that contains the latest scholarship and which has every Arabic word naturally run across in reading classical Arabic writings. The editors have made use of the Arabic-English dictionary of Dr. Steingass and the Arabic-French dictionary of the Jesuit missionaries of Beirut, the books most frequently in the hands of practical students of the Arabic. The present volume bids fair to supersede all other works in this line used at present in Egypt and Syria. Dr. Wortabet, of Beirut, has contributed to the volume fifteen pages in English on Arabic grammar, which will be found useful especially to those who wish to get a summary view of the method of the Arabic grammarians. There is also an appendix of about twenty pages giving certain Arabic words peculiar to the Egyptian dialect.

The editor has followed the plan of the Arab lexicographers in giving "the past and present-future forms of the verb and the noun of action or noun of trilaterals in full; for these forms are conventional, and can be learned only from

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\* ARABIC-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. By William Thomson Wortabet, Professor of English in the Egyptian Government School of Medicine and Pharmacy, with the collaboration of Rev. John Wortabet, M. D., and Professor Harvey Porter, B. A. Cairo: *Al-Muktataf Printing Office*, 1888. Price, 12s., postage included.

classical usage or from a reference to a dictionary. The triliteral measure or form of the verb is held by Arab grammarians to be the root of all other words, and it is marked by an asterisk to denote the origin of the derived words which follow. The same sign has been affixed to nouns that can be traced to no verb.\*

On the whole this dictionary is to be strongly recommended to students of the Arabic as at once the handiest, most convenient in arrangement and most reasonable in price of all the Arabic-English dictionaries in the market.

HENRY W. HULBERT.

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### A NEW ASSYRIOLOGICAL JOURNAL.

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Under the title of *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und Vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*,\* a new publication, edited by Professors Friedrich Delitzsch and Paul Haupt, appears, which promises to be an important help to students of Assyrian and kindred branches of investigation. While not exactly of the nature of periodical literature, it will gather up and, at more or less regular intervals, present those important discussions and investigations along these lines which for one reason or another are not to be included in the *Assyriologische Bibliothek*. The table of contents of the first Heft is here given :

1. Paul Haupt, Das Nominalpräfix *na* im Assyrischen. 2. Franz Praetorius, Zur äthiopischen Grammatik und Etymologie. 3. Paul Haupt, Die zwölfte Tafel des babylonischen Nimrod-Epos (mit 9 Tafeln). 4. Joh. Flemming, Der literarische Nachlass G. F. Grotefends (mit Portrait). 5. Paul Haupt, Ergebnisse einer neuen Collation der Izdubar-Legenden. 6. Eb. Nestle, Die Verba mediae *N* im Syrischen. 7. Paul Haupt, Zur assyrischen Nominallehre. 8. Georg Steindorff, Die ägyptischen Namen in den Keilschrifttexten. 9. Paul Haupt, Die semitischen Sprachlaute und ihre Umschrift. 10. Friedrich Delitzsch, Assyrische Briefe. 11. Paul Haupt, Über die Halbvocale *u* und *i*. 12. Friedrich Delitzsch, Der Cylinder Sin-idinnam's (mit Abbildung in Lichtdruck).

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\* The price will vary with the size, 1 mark for each form of sixteen pages. *J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig.*

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## ➤ HEBRAICA. ◀

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No. 2.

### NOTES ON THE PSALMS.<sup>1</sup>

BY SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D. D., LL. D.,

London, England.

LXXVIII. Of late date, in the time of the Babylonish captivity. V. 63.

Notwithstanding the Septuagint and the Vulgate with which Gesenius agrees, I take הַנִּקְלָהּ as the Pual "praised in (nuptial) song." In the 66th verse אֶחָוִיר means "backward;" not "in the hinder parts" with reference to 1 Sam. v. 6. Such reference is wrong, for the verse relates to the victories of Saul and Samuel over the Philistines. In the 65th verse "like a hero *overpowered* with wine," a version rightly adopted by Gesenius, Ewald, Hupfeld, and others. "*Refreshed* with wine" is incorrect. Dr. Kay, who made a version of the Psalms, for which work he was hardly competent, wrongly translates "*joyous* with wine."

LXXX. Of late date, perhaps a prayer of the people in their captivity at Babylon.

The 17th verse would have a better position after the 14th. What is the subject of the verb "let them perish"? According to the context, *the Israelites*. But this intercalation is unnatural. The beginning of the 19th verse should belong to the 18th, "thou madest strong for thyself and he will not go back from thee." The verb נִסַּח is the Perfect of Niphal, 3d person. The "Son of Man," equivalent to the Israelites.

LXXXI. This Psalm begins with an allusion to the Feast of Tabernacles, celebrated in the middle of the 7th month, that is, at the full moon of it, and called "our feast;" the Passover and unleavened bread are not referred to. In the 6th verse "when he (God) went out against the land of Egypt," as an enemy for the deliverance of his people, the language is general. "I hear a



language which I did not know" alludes to what follows, to the mysterious, divine voice which the fact imagines, and therefore clothes his ideas in the language it speaks to him. And the words thus suggested are continued to the end of the chapter.

LXXXII. This Psalm refers to oppressive, unjust kings who treated the Israelites harshly when they had power over them. That מְלָכִים means *kings* in verse 1 is shown by the 8th verse, where it has the same sense. Hupfeld argues that it has the sense of *angels* in this place, so that God is represented as presiding over a court of angels whom he judges, reproves, and addresses in the singular language of the 7th verse. But we agree with Gesenius that the plural Elohim never means *angels*; and cannot but think that Hupfeld's reasoning in favor of that sense is weak. Yet he is followed in the present case by DeWette and Kamphausen. The old error that Elohim means *judges* here and in Exod. xxi. 6; xxii. 8; xxiii. 28 is repeated by Lowe and Jennings. In the Pentateuch it is applied to God alone; here to kings, not to theocratic but foreign ones.

LXXXIV. The last words of the 4th verse, viz., "thine altars, O Lord of hosts, my King and my God," cannot be in apposition to the house and nests of the birds mentioned. I prefer their transference to the middle clause of the 5th verse. "Blessed are they who dwell in thy house, thine altars, O Lord of hosts, my King and my God, they will be still praising thee." Hupfeld, however, prefers to supply "but I" before *altars*, which brings out a good sense. DeWette translates אֵלֶיךָ "at thine altars," but this does not do away the difficulty, since birds *could not* lay their nests *at* the altars. See "Fresh Revision," p. 66.

LXXXVII. To the first verse belong the words which are now in the second, "Jehovah loves." "The gates of Zion" is parallel to "his foundation on the holy mountains," both meaning Jerusalem. In the 3d verse נִכְבְּדוֹת is used adverbially, "gloriously it is said of thee" (by God). In the 4th verse Jehovah himself is introduced as the speaker. The last verse as it stands says, "Singers as dancers (say) all my springs (of salvation) are in thee." There is something forced in this; and the word rendered *springs* should probably be pointed differently so as to bring out the sense, "they sing and dance, all *who dwell* in thee." So Hupfeld takes the meaning. The Psalm can hardly belong to the time of Hezekiah just after the overthrow of Sennacherib before Jerusalem, because hostile and bitter feelings of the Jews against Babylon were then entertained; rather does it indicate a time when such feelings were changed, and hopes were cherished of Babylon and the other nations mentioned being reckoned among the regenerate of Zion. The fact that Assyria is omitted among the peoples is an indication that the new Zion is referred to, so that the Psalm should be dated some time after

the return of the exiles from Babylon; not when the Assyrians were still feared and hated.

LXXXVIII. This Psalm describes the state of a cheerless sufferer who is brought very near the gates of death. It is not Messianic; a suffering Messiah being unknown to the Old Testament. Nor is there the least probability in the peculiar hypothesis of Delitzsch that Heman the Ezrahite, suffering from the disease of leprosy, was the author not only of the Psalm but of the Book of Job. There are indeed coincidences of language between the Psalm and the Book of Job, which in our opinion show that the Psalm should be dated in the captivity; the author having been acquainted with the dramatic composition of his unknown predecessor. The figurative language does not justify the assumption that the writer was suffering from a disease. The 6th verse begins, "Prostrate among the dead," etc. "My couch is," etc., as Ewald and Hitzig render, is less probable. V. 8, render, "thou hast brought down (upon me) all thy waves." Gesenius's "thou hast afflicted me with all thy waves" involves an unusual construction of the verb. Hupfeld's rendering is also unsatisfactory. V. 16, not "I have borne thy terrors *even unto distraction*," but "I must sink," "I will sink," the verb having *he* volutative at the end.

LXXXIX. A Psalm apparently written immediately before the captivity by one who speaks in the name of the whole people or of their theocratic king. V. 51. The last member is difficult and the reading should be changed, "that I bear in my bosom all (the reproach) of many peoples." כָּל before the last two plurals is unusual, but if הִרְפֵּית be inserted after it, the construction is tolerable, "all the reproach of many peoples" who are identical with "thy servants" in the first member. The Psalmist speaks as a representative sufferer. He suffers for the nation. See "Fresh Revision," p. 64.

XC. This Psalm was not written by Moses, but is of much later date. It refers to a time of national depression and calamity; either to that of the exile, or to some other period of adversity. V. 4. "When it passes; and a watch in the night." The authorized version is incorrect here. V. 5. With Hupfeld I put בִּבְקֶרֶן in the first member of the verse; "they become asleep in the morning, as the grass passes away." V. 9. "We consume our years like a whisper (or breath)." Gesenius's meaning of the word *whisper* is "thought." Others translate "a sigh," "a breath." The idea of a *low murmur* lies in the verb הִנָּה the root of the noun; and there is no good reason for making הִנָּה into two verbs, as Gesenius does. V. 11. Render the second member, "and thy wrath, according to the fear of thee," i. e. in proportion to the due fear of thee.

XCI. Though the beginning of this Psalm is awkward, I cannot adopt the supplement of אֲשֶׁר, "blessed is he that sits in the secret place of the Most

High, who lodges in the shadow of the Almighty; he says to Jehovah," etc., which also requires the alteration of the vowel points of **אָמַר**, making them express the participle **אֹמֵר**, instead of **אָמַר** the first person sing. of the Imperfect. Though this construction is favored by Symmachus, Lowth, Hupfeld, Olshausen, and Kamphausen, it introduces too violent an innovation. Notwithstanding the awkwardness attaching to the common translation and punctuation, it is better to adhere to it than to assume the omission of **אֲשֶׁר**.

XCIV. V. 17. **כִּמְעַט** means here *soon* or *shortly*. Ewald renders it badly, "vielleicht schon," *perhaps already*; and Hupfeld not much better, "um ein kleines." The beginning of the 18th verse is also incorrectly translated by Ewald, "as soon as I think." It is right in the authorized version. V. 21 should be, "they *crowd against* the soul of the righteous," etc. The translation "sie schaaren sich" does not give the force of the verb, which implies *hostile pressure* upon. Yet it is adopted by Ewald and Hupfeld. DeWette's "rotten sich" is better.

XCv. V. 4, "the heights of the mountains," according to the etymology, "the toilsome heights of the mountains;" as the word occurs in Job xxii. 25 in the sense of *toils*. The root is **יָעַר** which Ewald arbitrarily takes to be an equivalent to **יָפַע** *to shine*, and brings out the sense "*sunny heights* of the mountains!" In verse 7 the words should be transposed so as to read, "we are the people of his hand and the sheep of his pasture." In the 7th verse, "to-day if you hear his voice, harden not," etc., should begin the 8th verse, and then **אִם** has its proper conditional sense; not the optative one, as it is here understood by Gesenius, "would that you heard his voice to-day."

XCvi. This Psalm is of late date, and suggests the time of the later Isaiah because of the hopes expressed respecting the subjection and conversion of the heathen. It is used by the Chronicle writer, who adapts it to David, making it a part of the Psalm he used when the ark was set up on Mount of Zion. DeWette's exposition of the Psalm is excellent.

XCIX. This is a temple Psalm and probably of late date. Notwithstanding Hupfeld's objections, I take the beginning of the 4th verse to be dependent on the verb *praise* in the 3d, and translate, "the majesty of the King who loves right." The last two words of the 3d verse are parenthetical, "He is holy."

CI. This Psalm is David's composition, when he had just been established in Jerusalem as king. The second verse does not allude to the bringing of the ark into the city, but is an expression of inward longing for the presence of Jehovah. It is better to abide by the usual rendering, "when wilt thou come unto me?" than to get rid of the ejaculation; and the note of interrogation, **מָה**, cannot be taken as a conjunction, for it is not so used in Hebrew. Hupfeld's adducement of Arabic and Syriac interrogatives is too remote.

CIV. The first member of v. 1 and the same words at the end of the Psalm, along with "Hallelujah," are liturgical additions by a later hand. V. 4. The translation, "who makes winds his messengers; flaming fire his ministers," is the only correct one. That of the received version and the Septuagint, the latter followed by the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, is wrong. The making of His angels into winds and fires would give an unsuitable sense to the Psalm—one that is also unnecessary to the argument of the Epistle. As to the inversion of the two nouns after the verb, which some think a great objection to the only rendering that makes tolerable sense, no grammatical rule should be taken to override good sense. Besides, rules may be violated and sometimes are so by writers superior to the present one. See "Fresh Revision," pp. 77, 78. V. 24, "thy creatures," not "thy possessions" or "thy riches."

CV. v. 18. "Into the iron came his soul." It flattens the words to translate "he was laid in chains of iron." The Chaldee followed by the Vulgate gives the popular version, "the iron entered into his soul"; and this might be defended, adopted as it is by Hitzig and Delitzsch; but it violates strict grammar. V. 37, "and there was none among their tribes that tottered," i. e. through weariness.

CVI. The last verse (48) was added by the compilers.

CVII. v. 3. מִיָּמִין should be מִיָּמִין "from the south." 4th verse, there is no need for supplying לֹא before דֶּרֶךְ "in a waste of a way," i. e. a waste way. From v. 17 to 22 reference is to the saving of the sick, so that the paragraph beginning with v. 17 has its predicate at v. 21. One is tempted to alter אֱוִלִים *foolish*, and different readings have been proposed, but without authority. The word here is appropriate. V. 39. A new subject is not here introduced—"And they were minished and sank," etc. The 40th verse comes in abruptly, being a quotation from Job xii. 21, 24. We may supply "This is His doing who" pours, etc.

CVIII. This Psalm is made up of two pieces taken from others, viz., LVII. 8-12 and LX. 7-14; and the variations of the text from those of the originals are usually for the worse. If neither of the originals be Davidic Psalms, it follows that CVIII. is not; though the inscription appears to say so. The latter is very late, perhaps of the Maccabean times. V. 11, the strong city cannot be identified. The second part of the verse means, "who led me to Edom?" V. 12, "Hast not thou, O God, cast us off, and goest not forth, O God, with our armies." The English translation is wrong.

CIX. This Psalm contains stronger imprecations against an enemy than any other. It is not Messianic; neither can the use of it by Peter, as recorded in the Acts, make it apply to Judas. And it does not suit the character of David as though he were the author speaking prophetically. In any case it is directly

contrary to the spirit of Christianity, which inculcates the love of enemies, not the cursing of them. It is an evasion of the difficulty to assume that these curses are put into the mouth of David's enemies, not of himself. The composition probably belongs to a time subsequent to David's.

- CX. It is usual to take this Psalm as Messianic and to interpret it of Messiah's warfare and exaltation. The New Testament is cited as a proof of this; our Lord himself saying that David wrote it with regard to a greater than himself, that is, the expected Messiah. Again it is alleged that Peter in the Acts (II. 36) takes the Messianic import for granted. But Christ did not meddle with critical questions connected with the Old Testament, as his mission was of another character; he simply acquiesced in the current views of such questions as long as they did not affect the nature of that mission. Besides he applied more than once the *argumentum ad hominem* to his opponents, which he seems to have done in this instance. In regard to the apostles, we cannot in all cases adopt their interpretations of the Old Testament, since they were not infallible. The Psalm probably refers to the Maccabean times, and to one of the Hasmonæan princes, such as Jonathan. The 3d verse may be rendered, "Thy people are free-will offerings in the day of thy might, in holy dress; from the womb of the morning shall be to thee the dew of thy youth;" i. e. the young men of thy people should be numerous and fresh as the drops of morning dew. I do not think the reading הָרִי "mountains" for הַרְרִי "vestments" should be adopted; though Hupfeld, DeWette and others assign reasons for preferring it. The unusual word would be changed for a common one, not the reverse. "Holy mountains" would refer to Zion, from which the conquering army sets forth. In the 6th verse, "he has filled [the land] with dead bodies," we supply a word from the following context. This hemistic and the next, "he has shattered heads over a wide country," disprove the Messianic sense, for it is far-fetched to apply them to the spiritual triumph of Messiah over the power of sin, as Jennings and Lowe do.

- CXII. 4. "There has risen in the darkness a light for the upright; [to him who] is gracious, merciful and upright." The second member of the verse is difficult. The three adjectives stand absolutely without connection with the preceding words. They might refer to Jehovah, though the last adjective does not agree with that. Probably they allude to the יְשָׁרִים which they individualize. There is no good reason for changing תְּאֵוֹת (v. 10) into תִּקְוֹת, with Hupfeld.

- CXIII. 10. The article in הַבָּנִים (the sons) is irregular and incorrect. This Psalm with the next five made up what was called the great Hallel, which was sung on feast days, especially at the Passover; CXIII., CXIV. before the paschal meal, CXV.-CXVIII. after it.

- CXV. This is a late liturgical Psalm, and was probably intended for different voices, with different music. But it is not easy to make the division. There are changes at 9-11, 12-15, 16-18. The solos of Ewald are doubtful. Hupfeld goes to an extreme in denying such change of voices.
- CXVI. A post-exile Psalm, the language of one delivered from sore affliction. Vs. 10 and 11 are difficult, and have received accordingly different interpretations. I translate them thus: "I trusted [even] when I said, 'I am greatly afflicted' (referring to the language of the 4th verse); I said in my alarm, 'all men are liars.'" The authorized version is undoubtedly wrong, though it follows Luther. I cannot account for the perverted sense given to this passage by Delitzsch and Kamphausen.
- CXVII. Though the first verse of this temple Psalm is referred to the Gentiles in Romans xv. 11, there is no reason for supposing that the Jewish writer had regard to such extension of free grace. Jewish particularism is not over-leaped by the use of "all ye peoples," which is merely a poetical figure.
- CXVIII. 27. This Psalm probably originated in the Maccabean times. Some at least of its contents agree well with the history of the heroes who fought against their enemies so courageously. Perhaps the reference is to the circumstances connected with the solemn inauguration of Simon as high priest as well as captain and governor of the Jews (comp. 1 Maccab. xiv.). The Psalm was applied to the Messiah at the time of Christ, as the citation of the 22d verse in the Gospels and Acts shows; but it is not necessary to suppose on that account that such was the original sense. "Unto the horns of the altar." Delitzsch's view is here improbable, viz., that the number of victims is considered so great that the binding of them had to go on even up to the projecting horns of the altar. It is better to take the words thus: "Bind the sacrificial victim with cords, [and bring it] up to the horns of the altar."
- CXIX. This Psalm is of late date, having been composed after the return from the Babylonian captivity. It is impossible to discover the character of the writer, what was his age, or what his position. Internal evidence does not show whether he was old or young, in prison or free. He was a pious sufferer who pours forth his requests and complaints before Jehovah. The Psalm is artificial and monotonous, showing very little poetic power or originality. Its sentences are unconnected and there is no progression. The writer repeats the different expressions in which he describes the law, and grows tedious in his mechanical ogdoads. The effusions of his soul lack warmth, so that we might be disposed to attribute them to an aged teacher.
- V. 83. The comparison to a bottle of smoke refers to the dried up and shriveled state in which the writer finds himself. Hupfeld, after Rosenmüller, refers the simile to the ripening character of the affliction; bottles filled with wine and hung in the smoke ripening and mellowing the liquor; but surely this is an artificial conception.

V. 91, the authorized version appears to be correct here. The heaven and the earth are nominatives to the verb *stand* or *continue*. Were it not for הַיּוֹם *to-day*, or *till to-day* we should incline to take לְמִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ with Hitzig as a nominative; but, as the words stand, the common version is preferable. V. 147, "I am early up in the dawn, and cry." The authorized version of this member is incorrect.

V. 126 "It is time to act for Jehovah; they have broken thy law." Lowe and Jennings give incorrectly "It is time for Jehovah to work." Ewald renders erroneously and loosely, "Raise thyself, O Jehovah; it is time."

CXX.-CXXXIV. These fifteen Psalms are entitled "songs of degrees;" a very indefinite and obscure expression, the different interpretations of which may be seen in Hupfeld's commentary. The most probable sense is "pilgrim songs," i. e., odes sung by the pilgrims as they traveled to Jerusalem to keep the feasts. All are similar in language and tone, and may have been written by the same person. They belong to the post-exilic period; probably to Ezra's time or a little later.

CXX. It is probable that the punctuators took רְמִיָּה (v. 2) for an adjective, *deceitful*, and hence the pointing of the preceding word. We prefer to depart from their authority and to put the word *tongue* in the construct state; *tongue of deceit*. The third verse is different. I translate it, "What will He (God) give thee; and what will He add to thee, thou deceitful tongue?" The punishment is given in the next verse; "sharp arrows," etc.

CXXI. v. 1. "Whence shall my help come?" interrogatively. V. 3, "let him not suffer thy foot to be moved." אֵל should not be taken as לֵא, with the authorized version. To make a new question, "surely He will not," etc., with Ewald, creates linguistic difficulty.

CXXII. This is not a Psalm of David. It was written by a returned exile from Babylon after Jerusalem had been rebuilt. The chief difficulty in understanding the meaning arises from Perfect tenses of the verb in the first five verses. The poet throws himself back into bygone times when the tribes went up to Jerusalem on three annual occasions. The Perfects in vs. 2, 4, 5 should be rendered as past, *stood*, *went up*, *were set*; v. 4 should be translated "a law to Israel;" v. 6, "wish for prosperity to Jerusalem."

CXXIV. v. 3. הִנֵּה. Hupfeld denies that this is an Aramæan form of הִנֵּה; which is a hasty statement.

CXXVII. The title is spurious; nay, it is likely that the writer had in his mind the life and writings of Solomon. In v. 2 בִּי signifies *so much, the same*, "in sleep," not "by sleep."

CXXVIII. v. 2. Hupfeld transposes the two members of the verse, translating "happy art thou and it is well with thee," for thou shall eat, etc. It is too bold to make this change without the least authority. בִּי is translated *yea*

by Ewald, De Wette and others, "yea thou wilt eat it," but the particle never had this sense. The Septuagint passes over the word.

CXXXIX. v. 2. **וְ**. This particle is a connecting one. Whether it is ever adversative, signifying *but, yet, nevertheless*, is rightly denied by Hupfeld, in opposition to Gesenius, Ewald, and others. The passages quoted by Ewald, in favor of the acception usually adopted in the present and other places are not convincing (Lehrbuch, p. 856). Render "they have not also overpowered me."

V. 6, render "which is withered before it is picked up," not "before it grows up."

CXXX. This Psalm is post-exilic, but the occasion in which it originated is obscure. It is doubtful whether it refers to the time of the temple restoration under Zerubbabel. The Psalm contains a prayer for the preservation of the sanctuary and the throne of David on Zion. The writer refers back to the time when David set up the ark on Mount Zion, with which he couples the divine promises respecting the perpetuity of David's royal line. The Chronicler has incorporated vs. 8-10 in the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the temple. See 2 Chron. vi. 41, 41.

CXXXIV. The third verse seems to be a response to the greeting of the person who speaks in the first and second verses.

CXXXV. This Psalm is for the most part a compilation from others; in addition to v. 7 from Jer. x. 13, and v. 14 from Deut. xxxii. 36.

CXXXVII. Soon after the return from captivity an Israelite gives expression to his bitter feelings against the oppressors, and expresses a strong desire for revenge. The patriotism of the Jews was impregnated with passion and hatred of their enemies. V. 5, "let my right hand forget *its power*." V. 8, "thou wasted me," "who art to be destroyed," is contrary to the form of the word. The passive participle of Qal does not admit such a signification.

CXXXVIII. This Psalm may have been sung by Zerubbabel, as Ewald supposes. It is certainly of post-exilic date. V. 1, "before the gods" means the heathen deities. V. 2b, this is a very difficult clause, meaning, perhaps, "thou hast magnified thy word (that is, the promise in 2 Sam. vii., by fulfilling it now) above all thy name;" above every other manifestation of thy name. The language is that of hyperbole; 4b should be translated "for they have heard."

CXXXIX. This is not a Psalm of David as the title says, but one of post-exile origin, as its Aramæisms show. The divine presence and omniscience of God are finely described; but the language and construction present much difficulty. V. 9. The *and* supplied in the authorized version is wrong. There is no need for any supplement; and if there were, it should be *or*, "should I settle down at the end of the west."



V. 11, 12, "And should I say; let darkness alone cover me, and the light about me; even darkness would not be too dark for thee, and night would lighten as the day; as in the darkness so in the light." V. 14, "I will praise in that I am wonderfully distinguished." V. 16, "Thine eyes saw my substance, and in thy book were they all written; days were predestined, when there was not yet one among them." The word translated *substance*, means an unformed mass, the embryo fœtus, the members of which are undeveloped; and the *days* are those of human life. Hupfeld's explanation of the verse is unsatisfactory. V. 17, "how difficult are thy thoughts, etc. V. 18, "I wake up and am still with thee," i. e. I wake up from my dreamy meditation, and am still lost in the contemplation of thee. V. 20, "they who rebel against thee wickedly; they lift themselves up in vain against thee." The words יִמְרוֹן and עָרִיף should be changed into יִמְרוֹן and עֲלִיף. The first can hardly be the future Qal of אָמַר. V. 24, "And see if there be a way of idolatry in me, and lead me in the ways everlasting;" that is, which leads to everlasting life.

CXL.-CXLII. These three Psalms were composed after the Assyrian invasion, perhaps in the time of Manasseh, as Ewald supposes, and probably by the same author. No marked linguistic features assign them to a Davidic authorship. Psalm CXL. vs. 9, 10. The last word of verse cannot be translated, "lest they exalt themselves," or as Ewald has it, "lest they get the victory." The supplement of the word *lest* is too forced and far-fetched, but the Septuagint favors it. The verb should be joined to the beginning of the next verse and then we have the sense, "should those who compass me about lift up the head, let the iniquity of their lips cover them." Ewald's acceptance of רָאֵשׁ in the sense of *poison* must be rejected, though apparently favored by *lips* in the second member of the verse. Kamphausen's comment on the passage is hesitating and unsatisfactory.

CXLI. That this Psalm is David's and was probably written at the beginning of Absalom's rebellion cannot be accepted. The attempts which have been made to explain several of its verses by circumstances in the life of David are nugatory. V. 5. Literally the last clause says, "for yet, and my prayer is against their wickednesses." The words seem corrupt, but how to restore their original form is an impossible thing. V. 6. "Their judges were cast down into the hands (power) of the rock: and they heard my words that they are pleasant." The interpretation of this language cannot but be always perplexing. Perhaps the allusion in the first member is to the overthrow of the leading judges of the people, righteous rulers hurled down the rock. In this case the hearers of the speaker's or writer's words are different persons. Ewald's translation cannot be accepted: "Their judges are thrown into the hands of the rock; and should one hear that my words are pleasant?" His

interpretation is utterly improbable. DeWette renders, "Their judges are hurled down from the rock; then are heard my words which are so pleasant;" i. e., when the judges of the heathen are overthrown, then shall those (the righteous) who share my lot, hear my words of triumph over their destruction. Jennings and Lowe give a rendering and explanation which they pronounce "the only rational interpretation;" a bold and presumptuous statement on the part of tyros, where masters fail, or withhold their hand as Hupfeld does. V. 7. "As he that plows and divides in the earth, our bones are scattered at the mouth of Sheol." This is the complaint of the people; the point of comparison being the turning over and crushing of the ground by the plow. V. 9. יָחַד. I prefer annexing this word to the first member of the verse, though it is contrary to the accents to do so; *together*. As now pointed, I take the meaning to be *wholly, altogether*.

CXLII. Not a Davidic Psalm as the inscription says, specifying it as a prayer when David was in the cave, but leaving it uncertain whether at Adullam or Engedi. V. 4, the first three words of this verse belong to the preceding one, "when my spirit was overwhelmed in me." This is followed by, "But thou knowest my path," etc. The word translated *prison* in the eighth verse, meaning *distress*, seems to have suggested *cave* in the title. V. 8, not as Jennings and Lowe say, "thou hast dealt bountifully," etc.; but, "for thou doest good to me."

CXLIII. This Psalm is an echo of several in the older books and its tone resembles that of the preceding one. Like its immediate predecessors, it must not be assigned to David. V. 3, translate, "the everlasting dead," those who are dead forever. Compare Eccl. xii. 5; Jer. li. 39, 57. V. 6, "my soul is as a land thirsty after thee." V. 9, כָּסִיתִי Gesenius and others render this verb *to hide*, implying flight for covert; but this signification must be rejected, especially as the verb is joined with אֶלֶיךָ *to thee*. The true reading is הָסִיתִי with which the Septuagint and Luther agree. "To thee I have fled for refuge." V. 10, "lead me upon an even land," not "a land of uprightness." There is no need for altering אֶרֶץ into אֶחָד, with Hupfeld, though the change is favored by the analogy of xxvii. 11 and is followed by Luther.

CXLIV. v. 2, "my people" is right. The word should not be altered into "peoples" as it is by many, contrary to the authority of the Septuagint. V. 4, "man is like the breath;" v. 14, "our oxen are heavy (with young); there is no rent (in our walls), no sallying forth." A state of plenty and peace is meant, without the necessity of rushing forth from the walls of the city to meet and repel a besieging enemy. The translation given by Lowe and Jennings is both far-fetched and unnatural, though not wholly new.

CXLIV. This Psalm is chiefly taken from former ones, especially from the xviii<sup>th</sup>. Hence it has little originality. Of course David was not the author, as stated in the title. The last part (vs. 12-15) is entirely separate from the preceding. A fragment was joined to the Psalm by some later hand, introduced by וְאֵלֵינוּ which has no proper antecedent. The abrupt commencement has given rise to many conjectures. V. 12, "that our sons may be" is incorrect. It is better to omit the pronoun in a translation; or if it is thought desirable to represent it in English, we may supply a verb to it, "*who makes our sons,*" etc. Ewald conjectures that a later poet worked over an old poem, adding the words of the 15th verse and prefixing the pronoun. "We whose sons are as plants, etc. . . . Oh, happy is the people in such a state; yea blessed is the people whose God is Jehovah." The hypothesis is too artificial to be adopted; though he says that no other judgment can be formed of the little piece.

CXLV. The title attributes to David, but wrongly, the authorship of the Psalm, which is post-exilic. It is alphabetical, but the letter *nun* is wanting, and therefore a verse is supplied by the Septuagint and Syriac versions. There is no reason for thinking that the Psalm had such a verse at first. The 16th verse is rightly translated in the authorized version; for the noun translated *desire* does not allude to God's *good pleasure*.

CXLVI. This is the first of the five Hallelujah Psalms. The first two words, "praise Yah," are a title, not an integral part of the first verse. The final Hallelujah is a liturgical addition which is absent from the Septuagint. The language is characteristic of a late period, undoubtedly a post-exile one. The LXX. made Haggai and Zechariah its authors.

CXLVII. v. 1. "Praise Yah for He is good; sing praises to our God for He is gracious; praise is becoming." וְיִמְרֵךְ the infinitive Pi'el should be changed into the imperative וְיִמְרֵךְ and the accents altered. The Septuagint arbitrarily divides this Psalm into two, making vs. 12-20 a separate piece, and ascribing both to Haggai and Zechariah, like the cxlv<sup>th</sup>, the cxlviii<sup>th</sup> and the cxxxviii<sup>th</sup>, by mere conjecture.

CXLVIII. v. 5. It is fanciful to make the *he* (in b) emphatic, as Calvin does. In v. 6 the English version is right. It is the decree which is inviolable. But Hupfeld, Kamphausen and others render, "and they (the sun, moon, etc.) do not overpass it." V. 14, the noun *praise* refers to God, the subject of praise, "He who is the praise," etc.

CXLIX. v. 9. "A judgment written," that is, God's decree. What is written in the law respecting the destruction of the Canaanites is transferred to the heathen generally; probably, however, the allusion here is not to that written law, but to the fact that God has decreed it, written it in his book as it were.

"This honor have all his saints," in the received version, is a very doubtful rendering. When a noun is qualified by a demonstrative pronoun as here, both receive the article (comp. Deut. xxi. 3,4), which is absent from both in the present case. Besides, the noun קִדְּרָה is specially used of the divine majesty, so that Gesenius is obliged to find another meaning for it in this place, viz. *honor*. I would therefore translate with Hupfeld." He (God) is the glory of all His saints," etc., the object of their glory. The conclusion of the Psalm (for the last two words are a liturgical addition) correspond to the commencement, "His praise in the congregation of the saints."

CL. v. 1, "praise God in his sanctuary (earthly temple); praise Him in the firmament of His power," i. e., praise Him whose habitation is both earth and heaven.

## ERMAN'S EGYPT.<sup>1</sup>

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This book is an important one, and its first appearance was greeted with joy by scholars and all others interested in Egyptian matters. It is not, indeed, the first book of this kind that has come before the public, but it is the first that embodies in it all the results of recent investigation. Its predecessor, Wilkinson's "*Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*," though excellent in its time is now antiquated and can give the reading public no idea of the present state of Egyptian knowledge. Still this new book has roused in Germany and France quite a storm of opposition, owing to the fact that the writer treats with a sort of disdain the earlier translators of Egyptian manuscripts, saying in his preface that all of the passages explained in his book had been again translated by him and alluding to the abuse of translations in Egyptology. True it is that there has been published a vast number of flighty translations which, instead of giving the true sense of the passages in question, give but very confused notions of what the original text really does say. But then there is a vast difference between work of this sort and the work of men like Brugsch, Chabas, Goodwin and Maspero, to whom we are indebted for many an excellent translation, and without whose labors we would not be by any means so far advanced in Egyptological science. There is, however, no doubt that by far the greater part of the material presented in this book is entirely new, and I may here remark that this is the first book of the kind that strictly separates the various epochs of Egyptian history. To most of the previous writers the Egyptian people were *one* people, and no one thought that there might be a great difference between the subjects of King Chufu (Cheops ab. 2800 B. C.) and those of Amenemhat I. (ab. 2130 B. C.) and again between these and the subjects of Thutmosis III. (ab. 1450 B. C.). In the history of art Perrot et Chipiez (*Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité vol. I.*) had already made this distinction, but in the history of civilization it was Erman who first introduced it.

He has taken it upon himself to treat of Egypt only up to the close of the XX. Dynasty (ab. 1050 B. C.); and I cannot but think he is right. For after this period Egyptian history presents but a dreary spectacle, and for the next 400

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<sup>1</sup> "Aegypten und Aegyptisches Leben im Alterthum" geschildert von Adolph Erman. 2 vols Tübingen, 1885 and 1888.

years we have no documents that can give us any data for the history of Egyptian civilization. The last king of the XX. Dynasty, *Ramses XII.*,<sup>1</sup> was dethroned by the high priest of Amon in Thebes, *Herihor* whose successors ruled in Egypt over a century, when they in their turn were driven from the throne, about 950 B. C., by *Sheshonk*, a Lybian, the Shishak of the Bible, the conqueror of Jerusalem, whose dynasty, the XXII., in its turn had to give way to the Aethiopian, whose rule over Egypt was ended by Assurhaddon's and Assurbanipal's invasions of Egypt. The time of the Psammetichs is a renaissance, but the rulers are of Lybian stock, and the Egyptian people no longer is what it had been 500 years earlier. The centuries had not passed over the land without leaving deeply cut changes to mark their course. It is with full justice that our author remarks at the close of his third chapter, that if by some piece of magic a noble of the time of Chufu (ab. 2800 B. C.) had been transplanted to the court of Ramses III., he would have believed himself in a strange land, and the accompanying woodcut aptly illustrates this remark.

The general arrangement of the book cannot but be considered excellent. In a short introduction our author treats of the reports the Greek writers give of Egypt, and touches upon the monumental records of the country itself as well as the accounts of the Old Testament. He then gives a brief history of the deciphering of the Egyptian script. The first three chapters of the book are, in matter of fact, also introductory, treating of the geography, ethnography and history of Ancient Egypt. These chapters are not original and our writer does not wish to have them so considered. He has, however, used the works of his predecessors with singular judgment and has treated the subjects under consideration briefly and well. Specially commendable is what he says in the first chapter on the geography of Ancient Egypt. In the second chapter, where he speaks of the ethnography of Egypt, he skillfully avoids the knotty question of the "urheimath." He considers the Egyptian race as aboriginal, even if their language should prove to have been forced on them by a foreign invader, much as Anglo-Saxon was forced on the aboriginal Briton and as the Arabic tongue has been forced on the modern Egyptian. It is of importance here to note that the Egyptians considered themselves aborigines. They designate only their own people as "men" *rometu*; the other peoples may be Lybians, Negroes or Asiatics, but "men" they are not. The third chapter is a very skillfully written epitome of Egyptian history. In his chronology he follows *Eduard Meyer's* so-called "approximate dates" which are the *latest* dates for the era in question. If we

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<sup>1</sup> Usually but incorrectly called Ramses XIII. The Ramses XII. of Weidemann and others is a fiction. The stele usually attributed to him has been proven by Erman, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 1883, p. 54, seq., to have been composed in Persian times by the priests of Chonsu, in order to celebrate his greatness. The whole story related on the said stele is of a mythical character; and it is not to be considered a historical record. The king mentioned in the stele is probably meant to be Ramses II.

thus say King Suefru ruled about 2830 B. C. we would not have this regarded as an exact date; we merely mean that he cannot have ruled *later*, leaving it an open question how long *before* this period his reign really does fall. These approximate dates are of great convenience to the historian, and it would not be amiss, if they were generally adopted until we can give more exact dates.

It is with the 4th chapter that the author's own work begins, a full critique of which would take up more space than I could take for a review of this chapter. In this and the following chapters are treated of: 1) the king and his court, 2) the government of the country, 3) the police and courts of justice, 4) the family, 5) the house, 6) dress, 7) entertainments, 8) religion, 9) cult of the dead, 10) science, 11) literature, 12) fine arts, 13) agriculture, 14) the industrial arts, 15) commerce, and, 16) warfare.

In the 4th chapter, then, he gives a review of the titulature of the king, his various functions, his coronation, the court and court etiquette, touching also upon the harem life. The next two chapters treat of the civil government of the country, the 5th under the old and middle empires (abt. 2830–1900 B. C.), the 6th under the new empire (abt. 1530–1050). Perhaps no part of the entire work is more ably written and presents more new material than these two chapters. It is a strikingly lifelike picture of Egyptian official life that he depicts to us. I would like to call special attention to what he says in the 5th chapter on the titles of the officials, the power of the nomarchoi in the middle empire (abt. 2130–1900) and social conditions of this time. In the following chapter, which treats of the civil government under the new empire, are of special note the paragraphs showing the difference between the hierarchy of this and the preceding epochs, as also those treating of the slaves of the king, who were in large part of foreign origin; and it is an important position that these foreigners hold in the state, some of them ranking as princes. All of these slaves bore Egyptian names, while some have retained their old names besides. We thus know of a Lybian by the name of *Ynene* and a Phoenician by the name of *Maharba'al* (מַהֲרַבְעָל)<sup>1</sup> at the court of Ramses III., as also of a Canaanite by the name of *Ben Mat'ana* (בִּן־מַטְאָנָה) son of *Jupa'a* (יַעֲרָה) from *Djarbasana* (צַרְבַּשָׁן) at the court of Merenptah. We thus see, and this is a fact Erman does not state, that the Hebrew legend of Joseph is not so unfounded as some critics would have us believe. Of the many foreign slaves that attained high rank one or the other may have belonged to some Hebrew tribe and perhaps the memory of this fact lived with the people who, not uninfluenced by some Egyptian tales, like that of the Two Brothers, in course of time

<sup>1</sup> *Maharba'al* in Phoen. מַהֲרַבְעָל, Greek μαάρβαλ and μαάρβας, Latin, *Maharbal* and *Maherbal*, *dos aut praemium Baal*, "gift of Baal" (Gesen. *Monumenta*, etc., p. 409), cf. Hebrew מַהֲרַי Gesen.<sup>10</sup> s. v. Names with this signification are quite frequent in the other Semitic languages. Thus the Babyl. *Nadîn*, probably abbreviated and originally compounded with the name of a deity. Also cf. Eg. *Amenerdas*, "Amon gives her"—the name of the last Aethiopic queen of Egypt.

weaved about their fortunate brother the romantic story we read in the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup> Interesting is also what he says of the scribes and the archives, the relations between officials and their superiors and the social conditions of the period under consideration, in which connection he enters more deeply into the life of the laboring class, giving the history of two great strikes, one in the 29th year of Ramses III. and one in the reign of Ramses IX. In the next chapter which treats of the police organization and the administration of justice, he analyzes the so-called Papyrus Abbot, which is the official record of a criminal procedure against an audacious band of robbers that invested the necropolis of Thebes in the reign of Ramses IX. (abt. 1100 B. C.) He then speaks of the administration of justice and gives an account of the great conspiracy against the life of Ramses III. Of interest is also what he says in this chapter on contracts. The following four chapters I need hardly treat in detail. Suffice it to say that they give a vast deal of new and interesting information on the family, the private houses, the dress and the amusements of this most interesting of ancient peoples. The twelfth chapter, on religion, is perhaps the weakest part of the entire book. Indeed the author feels this himself, for he says he had rather left it unwritten. It certainly is quite impossible to give a halfway adequate account of the Egyptian religion in the space allotted to it in this work. But what he does give is generally correct, only that he does not, in my opinion, lay sufficient stress upon the trinities which play a great part in the Egyptian religion. But he has done well in laying great stress on the local deities, as also on the gradual process of assimilation which finally culminated in a solar monotheism. In all probability it was the priesthood of Heliopolis that first set up this doctrine; but an Egyptian king, Amenophis IV., was destined to be its prophet. The history of this movement up to its final collapse is well depicted. What he says of mythology is also very scant, but the chief points are touched. After this brief survey of the religion, he devotes the remainder of the chapter to the temple and the priesthood.

The following chapter, on the cult of the dead, is a brief account of the ancient Egyptian ideas of life after death, their tombs and burial rites. The fourteenth chapter which treats of science, he quite naturally opens with an account of the schools and teaching in ancient Egypt, and from this he goes on to speak of the epigraphy. He then treats of the various sciences known to the ancient Egyptians. They were theology, which busied itself chiefly with commentaries on the ancient religious writings, of which commentaries he gives a well-chosen example; history, which consists mainly in annals of the kings; astronomy, which they brought to some perfection and which they needed for their calendar,

<sup>1</sup> This story having so many legendary accretions, it is futile to seek after the name of Joseph in the Eg. monuments and to attempt to reconstruct his alleged Egyptian name from that given by the Bible, which may only be an attempt to get something that has an Egyptian sound to it. Such an attempt at explanation as Prof. Lansing gives in *HEBRAICA*, IV., p. 44, is utterly wrong.



arithmetic, elementary geometry, and magic. The following chapter is a brief resumé of the history of Egyptian literature. In chapter sixteen he gives a very brief sketch of Egyptian art, quite inadequate, of course, as the scope of the subject requires a volume or two, such as *Perrot and Chipiez's Histoire de l'Art*, etc. Of interest are also the following chapters, of which the seventeenth is the first adequate account of agriculture as practiced by the ancient Egyptians, and of which the eighteenth presents some new material on the subject of the industrial arts. In the nineteenth chapter, on commerce, he describes the means of conveyance, gives a vivid picture of internal commerce, in which connection he speaks of the ancient Egyptian markets, reproducing some representations of market scenes in the time of the old empire (ab. 2800 B. C.). The last chapter gives a very interesting and instructive account of the modes of warfare practiced by the ancient Egyptians.

On the whole, this book is very readable. The subjects under consideration are briefly, but, for the greater part adequately treated. The illustrations are chosen with great tact, and are well reproduced. A special advantage the book possesses, is that the various chapters bear the character of monographs, and can be read independently of the rest of the work. The index of passages explained, too, is of great assistance, especially to the scholar, making reference to the book easy and rapid. The book is thus of almost equal value to the general public and to the specialist, who is enabled by the copious references in the foot-notes to verify every opinion advanced by the writer. In fact it is one of the few books that avoid the extremes of being too popular, on one side, and too scientific on the other. I can, then, safely recommend the book to all those who would make themselves acquainted with life in ancient Egypt.

# JEWISH GRAMMARIANS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

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## VI.

ABU ZAKARIYYĀ YAHYĀ BEN DAWŪD HAYYUĠ.

With this grammarian there begins a new period in the history of Jewish grammar. By a single stroke he overthrew the false methods of his predecessors which found their culmination in the grammatical system of Menahem b. Saruḡ.<sup>1</sup> Superior to the merely negative criticism of Donaš b. Labraṭ, Abu Zakariyyā Yahyā ben Dawūd Hayyūġ proved to be the real critic of Menahem by offering in the place of the latter's chaotic theory of the weak verbs in Hebrew—the pivotal point of discussion at this juncture—one that at once commended itself to the scholars of the day by its simplicity and adaptability.

We know but little of the life of Hayyūġ as, for brevity's sake, we will henceforth call him. He was born about the middle of the 10th century in Fez and died in the first quarter of the 11th century, but neither the year in which he was born nor that in which he died can at present be fixed with any degree of certainty. It appears from a reference in Mošē Ibn Esra's rhetorical work *Kitāb al-Muḥādārāt*<sup>2</sup> that he left his native city and crossed over into Spain, making his home in the city of Cordova. There is every reason to believe that he here came into personal contact with Menahem ben Saruḡ, and some scholars are of the opinion that the Yehudā b. Dawīd who appears among the "Talmīdē Menahem," i. e. "Pupils of Menahem" who replied to the cruel and unjust invective of Donaš,<sup>3</sup> is identical with the subject of our sketch. This, however, must be considered extremely doubtful.<sup>4</sup> At the same time it is quite possible that Hayyūġ, in common with so many of his contemporaries, was for a time an adherent of Menahem's system. What the position was which he occupied at Cordova, we are equally at a loss to say. That he opened a school there and surrounded himself by pupils to whom he imparted his novel grammatical theories is beyond reasonable doubt, and we even know the names of some of his pupils, but we cannot

<sup>1</sup> See *HEBRAICA*, Vol. IV., Nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>2</sup> Munk, Notice sur Abou-l-walīd Merwan Ibn Ġanah, *Journal Asiatique*, 1850, II., p. 375.

<sup>3</sup> Published by S. G. Stern under the title *Liber Responsionum*. Wien, 1870.

<sup>4</sup> See the arguments in my Dissert. Abu Zak., etc., und seine zwei grammat. Schriften (Gies-sen, 1885), pp. 8-10.

say for a certainty whether he wrote the works upon which his reputation chiefly rests,—one a treatise on weak verbs in Hebrew, the other a treatise on verbs with reduplicated second stem-letter,—at Cordova, although this, too, is highly probable. In addition to these two books, he also issued a short essay on the accents, and a fourth work of which the title alone is known to us, “The Book of Spices,” and which, despite the strange-sounding name, was probably also of a grammatical character. All of these were written in Arabic by Hayyug. The treatise on the accents is not of much value, and may be passed over with a mere mention. Turning to his works on the verbs, the two treatises may properly be regarded as one book, devoted exclusively to the elucidation of the theory propounded in the introductory chapter, namely, that the stem of every Hebrew verb must consist of at least three letters. It is not a mere accident that Hayyug wrote in Arabic, whereas Menahem availed himself of a forcible and graceful Hebrew style which he possessed, for it was through his study of the Arabic grammarians that Hayyug was led to the discovery that, whatever we may think of it to-day, was of supreme importance for his days. The adoption of פֻּעַל as the standard paradigm for the conjugation of the verbs is quite a sufficient proof of his indebtedness to Arabic models, for a more awkward paradigm for Hebrew could hardly have been selected. In Arabic, where the Ayin can receive a Dageš forte, as much as any other letter, there was of course no objection against the use of this stem, which readily suggested itself to Arabic scholars from the fact of its being employed as the technical term for the “verb,” but had Hayyug been a more independent worker than he was, he would certainly have made a better choice. The objections against the use of פֻּעַל do not seem to have occurred to him, though his successors were not long in recognizing this fact. So for example Abraham Ibn Esra proposes שְׁמַל as better suited, while Kamhi adopts פֻּקַּד. From the Arabic فَعَلَ, also, Hayyug takes his designation of the first, second and third letters of the stem, as the Pê, the Ayin and the Lamedh of the stem. But there are other and even more direct proofs of his adoption of principles long since laid down by Arabic grammarians. In his explanation of irregular forms he is especially fond of attributing them to a strong tendency in language against avoiding combinations of vowels and consonants difficult to pronounce. Time and again he says of a form that it has deviated from the norm لاسْتَحْفَافَ (li’stihfâf) for the sake of “easing” the word. Now this same principle is a favorite one in the grammatical schools of the Arabs, and in fact the very same technical term is used to designate it. Again Hayyug’s ingenious theory about the pronunciation of the Š’wâ, of which I shall speak further on, was evidently suggested to him by the ‘Imâlâ of the Arabic grammarians. There is therefore no reason to doubt that it was in virtue of the constant comparison he was instituting between the Hebrew

and the Arabic, that he was brought to set up the principle of the trilateral character of the Hebrew stems.

The Arabic grammarians never seem to have had any difficulties, or at all events not much difficulty, with their weak verbs. They knew very well that the disappearance of the initial Wâw of the stems *primæ wâw* in the Imperfect of the first form, was due to contraction. True, their language did not present so many irregularities in this particular as the Hebrew. In the case of the *mediæ wâw*, for instance, they had at least the graphical *Elif* in the third person Perfect to guide them, whereas in Hebrew, with the exception of such a form as קאם (Hos. x. 14) there was only the long vowel under the first radical. Then again the distinction between the *mediæ wâw* and the *mediæ yodh* was more sharply observed than in Hebrew. At all events it was the Arabic that led Hayyug̃ on to the right track. After explaining what he means by his theory and showing up the absurdities to which the theory of Menahem was bound to lead, attacking Menahem severely, without, however, directly mentioning the name of his eminent predecessor, he proceeds to an examination of the vowels, of the Š'wâ, of the weak letters or אֲתִיּוֹת הַסֵּתֶר, as he calls them, the Alef, the Wâw and the Yôdh. After showing the conditions under which these letters disappear apparently from the word, he takes up the בְּנִרְכַּת and sets forth their peculiarities and thereupon returns once more to the above-mentioned weak letters. He shows, by adducing many examples, how often these letters interchange with one another in Hebrew. So for example we find אֲתַחְבֵּר יְהוֹשֻפֵט (2 Chron. xx. 35) for אֲתַחְבֵר תְּלֹאִים (Hos. xi. 7) for תְּלֹאִים; (Josh. x. 26) אֲשֶׁר־אֵלָה (1 Chron. xxv. 2) for אֲשֶׁר־אֵלָה; אִישִׁי (1 Chron. ii. 13) for אִשִּׁי; פְּנִיָּאל (Gen. xxxii. 31) for פְּנִיָּאל, and so we have both עֹבֵל (Gen. x. 28) and עִיבֵל (1 Chron. i. 22). He dwells at considerable length upon this point and comes to the conclusion that this interchange is due in some cases to a similarity between the pronunciation of these letters, but must in other cases be accounted for on the ground of an etymological interchange. His theory with regard to the pronunciation of the Š'wâ is an interesting one. There are three distinctions to be noted. When a consonant with Š'wâ Mobile at the beginning of a word or syllable is followed by either of the letters א "ה" "ח" the Š'wâ is attracted by the vowel given to these letters. Thus in תֵּאֲנֶה the Š'wâ follows the Šerê under the Taw and the word is pronounced T'ênâ, and so קָחוּ is sounded K'hû. Secondly, when the consonant following the Š'wâ Mobile is a Yodh, the Š'wâ receives an î-sound, no matter what the vowel accompanying the Yodh may be. So e. g. וְיָדְעוּ is pronounced W'yâd'û and equally וְיָדְעוּ W'yêd'û. Thirdly, in the case of the other letters, the vowel-sound of the Š'wâ is Pataḥ. Thus בְּרַכָּה b'rakha, בְּרִיל b'dîl, and the like.

This principle was adopted by almost all the successors of Hayyug̃ and is found in the works of Ibn Ġanaḥ, Ibn Ezra, Parḥon and the Kāmḥîs. But the most important portion of these introductory remarks for our purposes is that bearing on the peculiarities of the "weak" or "hidden" letters. There are two distinct ways, according to Hayyug̃, in which these letters may be used. In the first place they may be vocalized—either a full vowel or a Š<sup>u</sup>wâ—and pronounced like the other letters, and, secondly, they may lack vowels, "be hidden, concealed and not pronounced at all," to quote him literally. An example of the first is וְיֵאָסֵר (Ex. xiv. 6) for Alef, שְׁלֹחֵי (Job xxxvii. 26) for Wâw and יִדְבֹּר (freq.) for Yodh.

What he means by the second, we would to-day express by saying that these letters often have no other purpose in the verb than that of lengthening the preceding vowels. In short, he refers to the use of these consonants as *matres lectionis*. From this usage to their being entirely "hidden" from view in the word, is but a short step. Once admitting that they may be written without being pronounced, there is no difficulty, thinks Hayyug̃, in supposing that they may be omitted, since they do not affect the pronunciation of the word. In this way he would explain the disappearance of the weak letters in certain forms of the verbs; but, he says, there will always be some forms in which the weak letter that the stem contains will reappear so that the letters of the stem may in every case be determined. Moreover, when these letters are "concealed," to use the term which he constantly employs, there is generally a compensation in some form or the other, either by a lengthening of the vowel or a change in the vowel, as e. g. הִקִּים for הִקִּים. The weak point in this chapter is the constant confusion between the use of the vowel letters as mere *matres lectionis*, where of course a *plene* or *defective* method of writing may be chosen and the assimilation or contraction of these letters when they form an integral part of the stem. But although he may be wrong in regarding the *defective* method of writing as a bridge to pass over to the "concealed" character of these letters, the conclusions at which he arrives and the facts to which he calls attention are correct. Having made his point clear and held up his theory to a full view from all sides, he plunges into his subject proper—an examination of all the verbs, *primæ* Yodh, *mediæ* Wâw, *tertiæ* Hê and the *mediæ* geminæ. In each case he applies the laws laid down in the introductory chapters above alluded to, and in this way explains all irregularities incident to these classes of verbs. As an example of his method, we may take the verb אָפַה the stem of which, according to Menahem's principle, would be the single letter Pe, because in וְתִפְּהוּ (I. Sam. xxviii. 24) the Alef and Hê have disappeared. But how does Hayyug̃ account for this fact? "The Alef," he says, "which belongs to the stem,<sup>1</sup> as shown by the form אָפַה, has been changed

<sup>1</sup> Hayyug̃ uses **الأصل** el-'asl, like the Arabic grammarians, knowing of no distinction between stem and root.

into a Wâw and this Wâw is "concealed," the word, if written *plene*, being וְתוֹפְרוֹ. This Wâw accordingly is a substitute for the first letter of the stem. According to Hayyug the Alef may be "concealed" in precisely the same way as a Wâw. He places the form תִּפְרִי (2 Sam. xix. 14) on the same plane with the contraction that is constant in the first person Imperfect Kal of this verb. There is no distinction, as already pointed out, between a "concealment" of any of the weak letters when they are *matres lectionis* and when they form part of the stem. These two principles, first, the interchange among the letters "ו' ה' א'", the Alef becoming a Wâw, the Hê being written for Alef, and vice-versa, the Wâw changing into Yodh, and again the Yodh becoming a Wâw,—it being immaterial to him whether the change is merely graphical or etymological,—and, secondly, the possibility of "concealing" these letters, help him over all difficulties. After finishing with the primæ Alef, he takes up in the same way the mediæ Wâw, introducing them by some additional remarks of a general character. So again the class tertîæ Hê are preceded by an introduction, and with these he comes to the end of his first treatise.

The second treatise is entirely taken up with the mediæ geminatæ. Here the principle of 'Istihfâf plays the most prominent rôle. On the ground of the natural desire to lighten the pronunciation, he explains the contraction of the two letters of a stem into one. It is unnecessary to adduce examples. Hayyug, it will be seen, is extremely methodical. He sets down his principles and then applies them, with logical exactness. True, he does not occupy himself with an investigation of the principles themselves. Their truth is sufficiently demonstrated to him by their power to account for the facts.

The strict logic of his work was no doubt the feature that struck his contemporaries very forcibly. It was not long before his views gained the day. The popularity of his works is shown by the two Hebrew translations of them which were made by two eminent Spanish scholars, Moše Gikatilia<sup>1</sup> and Abraham Ibn Esra.<sup>2</sup> The Arabic original, however, still remains unedited. Three manuscript copies are at present known to scholars, two in the Bodleian Library, and one in the Royal Library at St. Petersburg. There are besides two fragments, one in the Royal Library at Berlin, and a second in the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> The desirability of publishing the Arabic original of these treatises which play so important a rôle in the *grammatical* productions of the generations succeeding Hayyug, has long been acknowledged.<sup>4</sup> And now that all the known works of

<sup>1</sup> Published by John W. Nutt, וְתוֹפְרוֹ, London, 1870.

<sup>2</sup> Dukes in Dukes & Ewald, Beiträge Zur Gesch. d. Aelttest. Erkl. d. AT, Vol. III., Stuttgart, 1844.

<sup>3</sup> Described by the writer in Proc. of Am. Or. Ass. for Oct., 1888.

<sup>4</sup> See Jos. Derenbourg in the Introduction to Opuscules & Traites d'Abuwalid Merwan Ibn Djanah (Paris, 1880) p. 119.

Hayyug's great successor and pupil, Abuwalid Merwan Ibn Ġanaḥ, who will be treated of in the next sketch, are in our hands in the language in which he wrote them, it is all the more important that the same justice be done to Abu Zakariyyâ Hayyug.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The writer has had all the material ready for such a publication for some time and hopes to be enabled to edit the Arabic text at an early date. For a specimen chapter of the treatise on weak verbs, see the dissertation above referred to, pp. 19-22. The Arabic titles of the two treatises are

كتاب الافعال ذوات حروف الين

and

كتاب الافعال ذوات المثليين

Ġikatilia calls them ספר אותיות הנח והמשך and ספר פעלי הכפל. Ibn Ezra uses the same designations, except that he omits the last word in the title of the first.

## THE USE OF PESIQ IN THE PSALMS.<sup>1</sup>

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The frequent occurrence of Pesiq in the Psalms makes a study of its use in that part of the Old Testament both important and interesting. Before entering, however, upon such a study we briefly state the common explanation of Pesiq which hitherto stands without serious dispute. Pesiq is said to be closely related to the accents, though itself is not an accent; its effect is held to be contrary to that of Maqqeph. This latter statement must be taken in a qualified way; for to say that Pesiq is as much disjunctive as Maqqeph is conjunctive is incorrect. Maqqeph unites two distinct words into one, so far as accentuation is concerned; Pesiq does not divide one word into two, but only preserves the disunion of distinct words. Maqqeph destroys and Pesiq emphasizes the individuality of distinct words. In reading, such emphasis is either necessary or euphonic. The distinctiveness of two words is necessarily emphasized, if else a misunderstanding would follow; but when such emphasis secures mere solemnity and distinctness of enunciation, it is euphonic.

Now we may state such canons concerning the use of Pesiq in the Psalms as are deducible after even a slight acquaintance with the facts:

- I. Pesiq prevents misunderstanding.
- II. Pesiq secures distinctness of enunciation.
- III. Pesiq renders the reading dignified and impressive.

To forestall certain difficulties that might arise from a wrong impression, we remind the reader that the truth of a statement does not imply the truth of its converse. It is by causing the reader to pause a little or, at least, to read very slowly, that Pesiq effects these three results. Dagheshe lene following Pesiq, even when a vowel precedes, tells us that much.

Here it may be objected, that not Pesiq alone but that all disjunctive accents indicate a pause. The indication of a pause in reading cannot, therefore, be the specific value of Pesiq. But the difficulty vanishes by the consideration that disjunctive accents indicate a pause and a modulation; to indicate a pause only may, therefore, be said to be the specific effect of Pesiq. A more serious objection is raised by those who maintain that Pesiq occurs after disjunctive accents. If,

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<sup>1</sup> The common text serves as basis in this article. The text of Baer and Delitzsch, and Wickes' *Treatise on Hebrew Accentuation* will find their due consideration in a final article on Pesiq in the three books. Legarmeh, too, will then appear in its true light.



then, its value consists in the indication of a pause, why employ it in places where a pause is indicated already? We may answer, in the common way, that in those places the pause is to be lengthened and thus vindicate its proper effect to Pesiq. But a thorough investigation of the use of Pesiq in the Psalms supplies us with another answer. We deny that in the Psalms and in the other parts of the Old Testament where the poetic system of accentuation is employed, Pesiq ever occurs after a disjunctive accent. Instances without number are, of course, brought up against this; but they too are without weight. Let us examine them singly:

1. After *Mercha* preceded by *Mahpach superior* Pesiq occurs three times in the Psalms: 5:13; 55:20; 86:1. All three instances are of a doubtful character. Pesiq is doubtful in two cases: a) when the Massoretic notes declare it so either by the note **לא פסיק**, or by giving a different reading in which the accent preceding Pesiq is changed; b) when Pesiq is omitted in other standard editions, such as the London and the Paris Polyglots, the edition of van der Hooght, etc. To return now to our adverse instances: In 5:13 the foot-note says **לא פסיק**; in 55:20 the notes give another reading, in which *Mercha* precedes Pesiq; in 86:1 the Walton Polyglot omits Pesiq, the Paris Polyglot reads it, but changes the preceding accent to *Mercha*.

2. After *prepositive Tiphcha* Pesiq occurs twice: 31:3 and 118:25; in both cases the notes say **לא פסיק**.

3. After *Rebhia'* Pesiq is found six times: 9:14; 31:12; 68:36; 86:8; 130:20; 146:5. In 86:8 and 146:5 it is canceled in the foot-notes; in 9:14 and 31:12 other readings are given, in both of which *Qadhma* precedes Pesiq. In 103:20 the London Polyglot omits Pesiq, and in 68:36 the Paris Polyglot does the same. Thus the Psalms contain no undisputed instance in which Pesiq follows *Rebhia'*.

4. After *Pazer* Pesiq occurs but once in 10:14; the notes canceling the text reading. This case, too, is more than doubtful.

5. To extend our observations to the other portions of the Old Testament in which the poetic system of accentuation is employed, four more instances must be considered. In Prov. 7:7 and in Job 30:16 Pesiq follows *Rebhia'*, but the Paris and London Polyglots omit Pesiq in both passages. In Job 10:15 and 24:14 Pesiq is read after *Pazer*, but is omitted in the London Polyglot, though the Paris edition retains it.

We may, therefore, safely assert that in the poetic system of accentuation there is not a single instance in which Pesiq follows a disjunctive accent. The actual occurrence of it in our received Hebrew text is readily explained. The chief aim of the successive editions being accuracy, any point or accent according to the received principles of criticism not evidently superfluous or spurious has been admitted into the text. Now, concerning Pesiq there never existed any definite principles of criticism, the nature and value of the sign being too little known. Thus every Pesiq introduced by transcribers has been recopied into

other editions. Such an introduction of Pesiq might, at times, be even willful. Suppose a more than commonly acute scribe had noticed the occurrence of Pesiq between two words, the first of which ended in the same consonant with which the second began; his discovery would naturally lead him to write Pesiq in Ps. 68:36, for instance, though here *Rebhia'* preceded. For *Rebhia'* and the rest of the accents were but meaningless strokes of the pen for our inventive genius.

Now we come to the use of Pesiq after conjunctive accents, its only use, as we maintain. Before stating any rules more definite than the above given three canons, we shall enumerate the facts relating to Pesiq and classify them according to their most striking headings.

1. After *Mercha* Pesiq occurs eighteen times.

a. Six of these instances are doubtful: 40:16; 55:20; 67:6; 75:1; 89:52, and 108:4. "Doubtful" is used here and hereafter in the sense that the notes either cancel the textual Pesiq or indicate another reading in which the accent preceding Pesiq is changed.

b. In ten cases Pesiq precedes the name of God, which is in the vocative in six of these instances: 67:4; 89:50; 94:3; 119:52; 119:157; 143:9. In 66:8 Pesiq follows a vocative, serving as an exclamation mark. In 10:13; 77:8, and 78:65 it indicates the subject of the sentence, thus preventing a possible misunderstanding. The *רשע אלים* of 10:13 illustrates what has been said.

c. Once, in 139:19, Pesiq follows the name of God, preventing a misunderstanding and a blasphemy.

d. In 65:11 Pesiq follows *ה* and secures a distinct pronunciation of *Mappiq*. If we accept the qabbalistic interpretation of the word followed by Pesiq in this case, we may reduce it to c. In 75:1, too, Pesiq occurs, but is omitted in the Walton Polyglot.

2. After *Munach* Pesiq stands seventeen times.

a. Nine of these instances are doubtful: 40:6; 47:9; 57:5; 78:24; 89:52; 100:3; 108:4; 115:7; 116:1.

b. Before the name of God Pesiq is found four times, in three of which instances the divine name is in the vocative case: 57:10; 59:2; 74:8. In 58:7 a misunderstanding is prevented.

c. In the three remaining cases Pesiq intervenes between repeated words to secure a dignified and impressive reading. In 35:21 we read *האח האח*; in 61:9, *יום יום*; in 137:7, *ערו ערו*. In 7:17 Pesiq is omitted in several editions.

3. After *Mercha-Zarqa* Pesiq is found six times.

a. In 40:16 it is, however, doubtful.

b. Four times it intervenes between repeated words: in 41:13; 89:53, and 72:19 between *אמן ואמן*, in 70:4 between *האח האח*.

c. Once, 10:3 Pesiq occurs before the divine name in the accusative.

4. After *Mercha-Mahpach* Pesiq stands twice. In 9:17 it is doubtful. In 68:21 it follows the name of God and secures also an easier understanding of the text. Besides, distinctness is demanded here, since ל immediately precedes and follows Pesiq.

5. After *Munach-superior* Pesiq occurs six times.

a. In 36:1 and 43:5 it is doubtful.

b. In 69:1 and 61:1 it stands at the end of a clause in the title of the Psalm. In 104:24 it follows an exclamation and may be looked upon as an exclamation mark. Van der Hooght's editor omits it in 142:4.

6. After *Shalshleth* Pesiq is read twenty-three times.

a. Its occurrence in 44:9 is doubtful.

b. In nineteen cases Pesiq stands after the word immediately following Athnach and in most cases emphasizes this word as parallel with or opposed to a word of the preceding half of the verse. One or two illustrations must suffice; the other occurrences will be indicated without further comment. In 20:8 וְאַנְחֵנוּ is pointedly opposed to the אֱלֹהֵהוּ... וְאֱלֹהֵהוּ of the preceding clause; in 33:12 הָעַם is emphatically parallel to the preceding הָנִי. Something similar might be said of 7:6; 12:8; 29:11; 41:8; 49:14; 50:6; 52:5; 66:7; 67:5; 77:4; 89:2; 89:3; 94:17; 131:1; 143:6; 143:11; 146:3.

c. In the remaining three cases Pesiq does not follow the word preceded by Athnach; in 68:15 and 137:9 there is no Athnach at all in the verse, but in the former passage Pesiq follows the divine name; in the latter it indicates the end of the clause. In 72:3 it emphasizes הָרִים as parallel to the preceding גְּבוּעוֹת.

7. After *Qadhma-Mahpach* our sign stands four times.

a. In 9:17 and 55:16 the textual reading is doubtful.

b. In 50:16 Pesiq indicates opposition between the word it follows and the preceding emphatic word; in 65:6 it indicates the real meaning of the passage by uniting an adverbial qualification to its proper verb. We shall see later that in these services it does not differ from the Pesiq which follows Qadhma. Hence we might have enumerated these cases under No. 10.

9. After *Mahpach-Rebhia'* Pesiq appears in 118:15. Van der Hooght's edition omits it in that place, and the London edition of 1822 substitutes Mahpach or Munach instead of Mahpach-Rebhia'. For brevity sake, two more instances may be enumerated under this number. In 45:5 Pesiq follows *Qadhma-Munach superior*; in 78:24 it occurs after *Mahpach superior*.

10. After *Qadhma* Pesiq is found 251 times.

a. In eleven of these instances it is doubtful: 9:14; 17:3; 31:12; 37:28; 43:5; 45:5; 55:16; 56:10; 142:4; 149:9; 39:5.

b. The name of God precedes Pesiq forty times; in eleven cases it stands in the vocative: 3:8; 7:7; 9:21; 17:1; 28:1; 43:1; 55:24; 57:2; 86:11; 137:7; 140:5. At the end of a clause or phrase Pesiq stands fifteen times. Two cases suffice as

illustrations of this. In 37:34 we read, **קוה אל-יהוה 'ושמר**, where evidently a new sentence begins after Pesiq, though the closing word of the preceding one is marked by Qadhma only. In like manner a new sentence begins after **יה הללי** in 111:1; 112:1; 113:1; 135:1; 147:1; 148:1; 149:1; 150:1, though here, too, **יה** has a conjunctive accent. The same must be said of 55:20; 96:13; 110:4; 132:11; 144:1; 135:21. In the remaining fourteen instances Pesiq expresses either emphasis, as in 11:1; 42:9; 55:23; 69:36; 98:1; 110:1; 146:10, or it stands like our comma between a complex subject and its predicate, thus facilitating the right understanding of the verse as in 19:10; 29:9; 78:31; 103:17,22; or again it stands before a noun in the construct state, uniting the construct more closely to the following genitive as in 41:13; 106:48. In 55:23 another reason might be assigned for Pesiq; for since the word following it begins with **'**, and since **אני** was read instead of the preceding **יהוה**, Pesiq may be said to secure distinct pronunciation of initial and final consonant.

c. Pesiq precedes the name of God twenty-three times, fifteen of which have the sacred name in the vocative: 5:11; 17:14; 39:13; 40:6; 51:16; 69:14; 92:10; 93:3; 104:24; 106:46; 141:8; 143:7; 44:24; 72:1; 75:2. In 96:10 it stands at the end of a clause; in 81:11; 20:7; 18:13; 48:15 it intervenes between subject and predicate, either because one of those members is complex or because no copula is expressed. In 18:1; 18:51 and 42:3 we may admit Pesiq on account of the special emphasis on the word following it; in 18:51, however, and possibly, also, in 18:1 a misunderstanding is prevented by Pesiq, since it indicates that the following **ל** is not to be taken in the genitive, but in the dative meaning. We might quote under this paragraph, also, 106:48 and 110:1; but in both cases Pesiq enters between the repeated name of God, and in so far as it follows the divine name, both have been enumerated under the preceding division.

d. Pesiq secures distinct pronunciation in 19:7; 101:5; 101:7; 104:35; 143:5; in these cases m, r, b, m, m respectively are the initial and final consonants of its neighboring words.

e. In 7:10; 8:3; 106:48; 108:9 Pesiq stands between repeated words or word-like phrases and secures solemnity of reading; 31:3 and 71:3 may be added here or under the preceding heading. In both cases we read: **לי לצור**.

f. The end of a clause or sentence is thirty-four times indicated by Pesiq: 2:12; 12:15; 22:27; 25:5; 26:1; 27:1; 32:8; 35:1; 37:1; 41:7; 41:10; 42:5; 48:9; 49:11; 50:21; 57:4; 68:9; 68:19; 74:2; 75:9; 78:20; 78:38; 79:13; 82:5; 90:10; 91:15; 103:1; 112:10; 126:6; 131:2; 138:1; 141:5; 142:5; 144:1. At times there is a full division which would be indicated by our period or semi-colon, as in 26:1; 27:1, etc.; again the end of the protasis is expressed by Pesiq, in which cases it is the equivalent of our comma, as in 48:9; 90:10, etc.; or, in the third place, Pesiq is equal to our quotation marks, as in 12:5; or it indicates the beginning of a relative clause, the relative being not rarely omitted, as in 41:10; 74:2, etc.

*g.* A special emphasis seems to have been indicated by Pesiq in eighteen cases: 9:7; 18:8; 19:4; 38:12; 39:6; 39:13; 51:16; 79:3; 84:4; 84:12; 90:10; 91:4; 95:10; 122:5; 133:3; 137:3; 142:8; 143:3. The emphatic word is sometimes the nominative absolute, as in 9:7; 90:10, etc.; or it is a word emphatic on account of its parallelism, as in 19:4; 39:13, etc.; or it is an emphatically repeated word, as in 51:6, or finally the emphasis is required by the whole context, as in 18:8; 38:12.

*h.* Nearly related to the preceding heading of emphasis are those passages in which Pesiq is used before or after proper names and personal pronouns. We have nineteen instances of this kind: 10:14; 24:9; 32:5; 40:6; 42:6; 42:12; 45:5; 45:13; 62:9; 62:13; 68:28; 80:2; 80:3; 87:5; 97:8; 99:4; 99:6; 106:7; 137:1. Several cases have been enumerated here in which a direct address is intended, as in 24:9, "O Gates;" 42:6 and 12, "O my soul;" 45:5 and 62:9, "O nation." Seventeen more instances may be reduced to this heading, "emphasis," though at first sight they do not appear to belong here. They are: 27:5; 35:10; 37:20; 40:4; 40:13; 42:5; 60:2; 65:14; 68:26; 78:4; 78:55; 94:23; 113:9; 129:8; 148:14; 72:18; 104:14. Another case of noted emphasis we have in 44:3, unless we prefer to look upon the double Pesiq that encloses the emphatic word as on our dash.

*i.* Next we must enumerate the instances in which Pesiq aids the right understanding of the verse. In fifteen cases it precedes the construct state of nouns, thus uniting the construct to its following genitive. They are: 2:2; 18:6; 19:15; 22:30; 31:14; 40:11; 45:2; 76:6; 78:6; 78:49; 93:4; 101:3; 138:2; 141:4; 71:20. It must be added that in 45:2; 71:20; 78:6; 93:4; 141:4 the noun is not followed by a genitive, but by a qualifying adjective.

*k.* In forty-four cases Pesiq aids the right understanding by indicating whether an adverbial or adjectival qualification belongs to the subject, to the predicate or to the object of the sentence. Such qualifications are expressed by means of a preposition with a noun or a pronoun or by negative particles. Two cases will exemplify this; the rest will be merely enumerated. In 10:14 we read: ראתה כִּי-אֵתָהּ עִמָּל וְכַעַס הִבִּיט. Shall we render this: "Thou hast seen, for thou art grievousness, and grief thou wilt look on," or "Thou hast seen, for thou wilt look on grievousness and grief"? The double Pesiq tells us, so far as mere mechanism can tell, that grievousness and grief belong together and stand on the same footing. Hence the first rendering is excluded. Again in 18:9 we read: עָלָה עֶשֶׁן בְּאַפּוֹ, literally: "Went up smoke in his anger." Does the qualification "in his anger" belong to "smoke" or to "went up"? The Pesiq shows that it belongs to the whole sentence, i. e., to the verb rather than the subject. Similar occurrences we meet in: 23:5; 27:2; 27:3; 27:9; 31:3; 32:6; 35:26; 39:4; 40:7; 40:10; 40:15; 40:17; 42:5; 48:14; 49:15; 61:3; 62:5; 63:2; 64:6; 66:6; 66:7; 68:7; 68:31; 69:7; 70:5; 72:16; 72:17; 78:5; 79:6; 91:7; 92:8; 100:4; 102:3; 104:35; 117:2; 133:2; 137:6; 141:4; 142:4; 146:7; 147:8; 147:20.

l. Misunderstanding is prevented by means of Pesiq in eighteen other instances; or if no positive misunderstanding is prevented, at least the right understanding is facilitated. Pesiq intervenes between subject and predicate, thus indicating the copula, in 30:6; 37:7; 47:10; 49:12; 54:5; 77:19; 111:10; 144:12. In 1:3; 7:6; 10:9; 19:7; 22:16; 25:7; 84:3; 88:6; 93:3; 140:6 Pesiq helps to clearness as much as in the previous instances; but since the way in which it does so varies in the single cases, we must here be satisfied with a mere enumeration of the passages. A more minute description of each would lengthen our paper considerably.

11. Finally, after *Mahpach* Pesiq occurs 197 times.

a. Nine of these are doubtful: 6:11; 17:3; 37:25; 37:28; 47:9; 57:5; 61:9; 102:27; 115:7.

b. Pesiq follows the name of God nineteen times. In eight of these cases the divine name is in the vocative case: 5:9; 44:2; 50:1; 63:2; 86:14; 89:9; 131:1; 143:1. In nine other passages Pesiq indicates the copula: 11:4; 18:3; 27:1; 28:7; 41:3; 60:8; 68:7; 146:8; 146:9. In 108:8 it serves to join the adverbial qualification to the verb, and in 127:1 it does the same with regard to the negative particle.

c. Pesiq also precedes the name of God in nineteen instances; nine of these present the sacred name in the vocative: 4:2; 39:5; 55:24; 68:19; 77:17; 79:9; 86:12; 97:9; 109:21. In 5:7; 12:18; 72:19 and 118:27 it stands in place of the copula; it adds emphasis in 37:7; 42:10; 98:6 and 55:20; it stands before a noun in the construct state in 43:2 and 20:2.

d. Pesiq secures distinctness and dignity of enunciation in 68:20 and 104:14; in the former case the word is repeated, in the latter the final letter of the preceding word is identical with the initial consonant of the word that follows Pesiq.

e. Pesiq indicates the end of a clause or sentence, like our comma or period, in fourteen cases: 18:31; 22:28; 40:17; 56:1; 56:7; 59:8; 59:12; 73:8; 74:2; 86:9; 86:9 again; 104:26; 112:9; 134:1. Since this and the following division are similar to the various headings given under No. 10, fuller illustrations are not needed.

f. Special emphasis is indicated by Pesiq in twenty-six cases: 1:2; 6:7; 10:7; 12:3; 15:4; 20:6; 21:5; 27:4; 27:8; 28:9; 36:5; 37:14; 44:24; 49:15; 56:8; 62:11; 65:5; 69:21; 71:15; 104:15; 104:25; 127:1; 137:9; 139:16; 142:7; 143:10. We may notice here a characteristic proper to Pesiq following *Mahpach*, namely, that it follows in the majority of cases the first word of the sentence. Pesiq may be said to secure emphasis also in 71:21; 102:20; 104:8; 148:4, though in these cases the emphasis is less striking.

g. To the class of emphasis we may refer also those cases in which Pesiq accompanies a proper name or a personal pronoun. Such are the following twenty-four instances: 3:1; 10:14; 13:6; 31:15; 31:23; 32:7; 35:13; 40:18; 44:3; 52:2; 52:10; 57:5; 59:17; 60:10; 70:6; 71:22; 73:28; 76:8; 81:6; 87:4; 88:14; 109:25; 115:18; 135:11.

h. The right understanding of the text is facilitated by Pesiq in several ways. First, it joins the construct state to its proper genitive. This happens in the following twenty-nine passages: 10:8; 21:10; 31:21; 38:13; 40:3; 43:4; 45:2; 48:12; 55:22; 69:3; 69:5; 69:16; 72:4; 84:7; 90:17; 97:7; 101:2; 101:6; 105:3; 106:5; 109:14; 109:20; 116:3; 116:19; 119:104; 128:3; 138:7; 145:12; 148:13.

i. Pesiq prevents misunderstandings or facilitates the right understanding of passages, in the second place, by indicating the proper subject of adverbial qualifications and conjunctive relations. The passages in which this takes place are the following: 37:1,5; 5:5; 10:13; 16:9; 16:10; 18:50; 23:6; 28:5; 30:13; 32:4; 37:17; 39:7; 42:9; 42:11; 44:4; 51:18; 55:13; 62:4; 62:10; 62:12; 68:17; 68:24; 71:6; 71:18; 73:10; 73:20; 78:21; 79:10; 85:9; 89:50; 94:14; 96:5; 105:45; 109:16; 119:69; 119:123; 132:17. It may be added that nearly all the qualifications of this class are conjunctions, such as "for," "therefore," "that," or interrogative particles.

k. In thirteen more instances does Pesiq prevent a misunderstanding of the text; but it is too hard to reduce them to any greater divisions and too lengthy to explain them singly in full. An enumeration must then suffice: 1:1; 15:5; 18:7; 18:7 again; 19:5; 24:4; 32:9; 57:7; 66:4; 77:3; 111:9; 135:9; 146:6.

In order to complete this sketch of the use of Pesiq in the books in which the poetic system of accentuation prevails, the occurrences of Pesiq in the Books of Proverbs and of Job will be briefly added. What is to be said of Pesiq after disjunctive accents in these books, has been stated above.

1. After *Mercha* Pesiq occurs in Prov. 8:21 and Job 40:6,9. In Proverbs it marks the end of the sentence; in Job 40:6 it seems to give emphasis to the following word, while in Job 40:9 it follows the name of God, thus securing a more solemn reading of the same.

2. After *Mumach* Pesiq occurs in Prov. 6:9 after a vocative, and in Job 1:1; 1:16; 1:17; 1:19; 2:11; 11:15; 27:9; 27:13; 42:8 and 42:8 again. The occurrences in Job 1 and 2 and 42 do not concern us, the poetic system of accentuation not being employed there. In 27:9 it precedes the name of God; in the other cases it serves to indicate the proper connection of words, thus facilitating the understanding of the passages.

3. After *Mercha-Mahpach* Pesiq occurs in Prov. 9:7, where it indicates the pregnant meaning of the participle.

4. After *Shalsheleth* Pesiq occurs in Prov. 6:10; 6:27; 24:33; and also in Job 5:19; 11:6; 15:23; 16:9; 32:6; 37:13. In Prov. 6:27 it seems to give distinctness and solemnity to the enunciation, standing between *שׁוּן* and *שׁוּן*; in Job 32:6 it indicates that the two words after which it stands belong together and express one idea. In the other instances Pesiq follows the word immediately after *Athnach* and indicates emphatic parallelism or the end of the clause.

5. After *Qadhma* Pesiq occurs in Prov. 1:27; 3:28; 5:21; 6:14; 6:22; 8:13; 8:30; 23:29; 24:12; 24:16; 24:27; 24:31; 25:13; 25:20; 27:10; 27:12; 27:14; 27:22; 28:10; 30:4; 30:4; 30:4; 30:9; 30:15; 30:19; 31:4, and also in Job 3:26; 4:5; 5:5; 6:10; 6:20; 10:3; 10:17; 10:22; 11:6; 12:3; 12:4; 12:6; 14:5; 14:13; 15:28; 15:30; 16:9; 16:11; 16:12; 16:13; 19:27; 19:29; 21:17; 24:5; 24:12; 24:15; 24:17; 24:20; 24:24; 28:4; 31:34; 31:35; 31:40; 32:2; 32:11; 33:23; 33:26; 34:19; 34:29; 34:33; 36:16; 37:6; 37:12; 38:2; 39:25. Without classifying these cases under their respective headings the general statement suffices, that the end of clauses, emphatic oppositions and parallelisms and the proper subject of adverbial and conjunctive qualifications are pointed out by Pesiq in these passages. In Job 6:20 distinct enunciation of the final and initial letter is effected by it.

6. After *Mahpach* Pesiq is found in Prov. 1:9; 6:3; 7:12; 10:26; 16:10; 16:11; 19:10; 21:20; 21:29; 22:3; 22:29; 23:7; 24:14; 24:24; 25:1; 25:28; 26:1; 27:27; 28:24; 29:13; 30:1; 30:8; 30:14; 30:20, and in Job 3:13; 4:16; 4:19; 6:1; 6:21; 9:24; 13:14; 13:27; 14:19; 15:24; 16:4; 18:2; 19:3; 19:12; 20:20; 20:23; 20:29; 21:28; 24:13; 26:14; 27:13; 28:3; 28:28; 30:1; 31:2; 32:6; 33:15; 33:27; 34:10; 34:20; 36:28; 37:4; 37:21; 42:3. Here, too, we must be satisfied with learning in general, that the characteristics of Pesiq after *Mahpach* are the same in the books of Proverbs and Job as in the Psalms. Pesiq generally follows the initial word and indicates emphasis, or the proper subject of an adverbial or a conjunctive qualification or distinctness of reading, as in Job 24:13 and 31:2.

Now we may draw the inferences that flow from the stated facts. The first conclusion has been stated in the beginning of this paper in the three canons concerning the use of Pesiq in the Psalms. This inference is so clear that it needs no further explanation.

The second inference has reference to the determination of the particular value of Pesiq in each special case. It may be worded thus: "After the greater conjunctive accents Pesiq effects emphasis or dignity of enunciation and may be compared to our exclamation point or our italics; after the less conjunctive accents Pesiq is generally equivalent to our comma or period, rarely to our exclamation mark." Greater conjunctive accents are those that serve usually immediately before the greater disjunctive accents, such as *Mercha* or *Munach* before *Silluq*, *Munach* before *Athnach*, *Yerach* before *Mercha-Mahpach*. Less conjunctive accents commonly serve before other conjunctive or the minor disjunctive accents. Hence the "less" is to be taken in an adjectival, not in an adverbial sense. The passages in which Pesiq follows *Shalsheth* immediately after *Athnach* are noted for the peculiarity, that the series of conjunctive accents in that member is always the same: *Shalsheth*, *Tiphcha*, *Munach*, *Silluq*. The only exception is in Ps. 89:3, where *Mercha* is found instead of *Munach*.

The third inference regards the converse forms of our three canons: "Wherever in the Psalms a possible misunderstanding of reading or singing has not been



impeded by a disjunctive accent, there Pesiq has been employed." This rule must be extended in due proportion to emphasis and solemnity of reading. And it is in great measure due to the variety of emphasis and intonation that the same piece is capable of, according to its different conceptions, that the use of Pesiq seems arbitrary and without fixed law. But let us not throw stones at the Massorites, before we ourselves explain the rules of our comma, semicolon and exclamation mark.

A fourth inference we may draw from the given facts: "The frequent use of Pesiq in the Psalms is in great measure due to the use of the poetic system of accentuation in the same." For in this system the number of conjunctive accents surpasses that of the disjunctive ones; hence an artificial and extensive means is needed to secure the right divisions and pauses. Other, secondary reasons for the frequent use of Pesiq in the Psalms are not excluded by this.

Finally, a word concerning the numerous instances in which Pesiq either precedes or follows the name of God. This name itself occurs in the Psalms much more frequently than in other portions of the Old Testament; besides, in most cases a specific reason different from the mere fact of the divine name preceding or following Pesiq, may be assigned for the occurrence of Pesiq. But granting all this, we cannot deny the general tendency of rendering the sacred name emphatic by the addition of Pesiq.

## THE "Ἀπαξ Λεγόμενα OF THE MINOR PROPHETS.

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In the following pages I have presented words which are peculiar to but one of the Minor Prophets, and which are found nowhere else in the O. T. The LXX. translation follows each word, the Vulgate and Revised Version in the order named. No comments are added when the meaning of the word is obvious or the R. V. to be chosen, Montfaucon's edition of Origen's *Hexapla*, Paris, 1713, has been consulted, also *Vetus Testamentum, Græce*, Tischendorf-Nestle edition, Sexta, Leipzig, 1880.

The references in each case have followed the Hebrew arrangement of chapter and verse.

### HOSEA.

- II. 4. וְנִאֲפוּיָהּ—τὴν μοιχείαν αὐτῆς—*adulteria sua*—her adulteries.

An intensive formation indicating the flagrancy of the sin, with a passive force. Cf. זָנוּן in preceding clause.

- II. 13. נִבְלָתָהּ—τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν αὐτῆς—*stultitiam ejus*—her lewdness.

Keil understands the word to express the idea of "being faded" or "exhausted," which better agrees with the meaning in Qāl. Ges.<sup>10</sup> takes the word in sense of *pudenda* and compares נָבַל in P'el "to disgrace."

- II. 14. אֶתְנָהּ cf. יָתְנִי and הִתְנֵנִי VIII. 9.

- II. 15. וְחִלְיָתָהּ—καθόρμια αὐτῆς—*monili suo*—her jewels.

A segh. חִלָּה, fem. of חָלָה. The root meaning is "to be smooth," "polished."

- III. 2. לֶחֶךְ—νέβελ οἶνον—*dimidio coro*—half omer.

A measure, which Kimchi, according to Ges. Thes., says was חֲצִי חֶמֶר. Ges. Thes. and, after him apparently, Keil give for the LXX. rendering ἡμίκορος, but this is probably wrong for such a rendering does not appear in any edition of the LXX. I have been able to consult. Origen's *Hexapla* gives, however, for the rendering of several early Greek translations ἡμίκορον, while Theod. reads νέβελ οἶνον, a bottle of wine, and Sym. ἀσκοῦ οἶνον.

- V. 2. שְׁחָתָהּ—τὴν θήραν—*victimās*—in making slaughter (*mar.* in corruption).

Ges. Thes. takes this as a Pī. inf. est. from שָׁחַט "act in an abandoned manner," while Ges.<sup>10</sup> treats it as a P'el noun, "shameful action," from a second שָׁחַט i. e. שָׁחַת. The LXX. have evidently mistaken the word. The

Vulg. treats it as a noun, in which case it is properly an *a. l.* The R. V. seems to consider the word as an *inf.*, the text Qāl, the mar. Pī.

- V. 2. שְׂטִיִּים—ἀγρεῖοντες—(*declinastis*?)—revolters.

This difficult passage the LXX. translate as follows: (verse 1 “a net stretched upon Itaburion) which the *hunters* [שְׂטִיִּים] of prey [שְׂחָטָה] made fast.” The Vulgate either leaves the word out altogether or includes it in *declinastis*. “Deviation,” “wandering,” is the meaning given by Ges.<sup>10</sup> Del. (Ps. cx. 3) and Keil take the word to be an equivalent of שְׂטִיִּים, the latter derives it from שָׁטָה and translates “*transgression*.” The R. V. treats it as a Qāl act. part., from שָׁוַת (cf. Ps. xc. 5).

- V. 13. יִנְהֶה—διαπάσῃ—*solvere poterit*—he shall cure.

Ges. Thes. gives the meaning as “*remove*,” “*drive away*,” though the corresponding Syr. word means “*flee*.” The parallelism indicates clearly that it is a syn. of רָפָא. In Prov. xvii. 22 we find the *a. l.* נָהַה “*healing*.”

- VI. 10. שְׁעִירִיָּה קֶּ֫חַל שְׁעִירִיָּה—φρικώδη—*horrendum*—a horrible thing. שְׁעִירִיָּה occurs in Jer. xviii. 13. A passive formation like נֶאֱכַפְיָה, the 3d rad. doubled in each case on account of the guttural. The root is שָׁעַר\* “*shudder*” (Ges.<sup>10</sup>).

- VII. 5. אֶת־לִצְצִים—μετὰ λοιμῶν—*cum illisoribus*—with scorners.

The LXX. word means “*with pestilence*.” Ges. Thes. inclines to take this from לִצֵּץ in the Pol. for מְלִצְצִים.

- VII. 16. זֶ֫ה—οὗτος—*ista*—this.

A dialectical variation for זֶ֫ה.

- VIII. 6. שִׁבְבִּים—πλανῶν—in *aranearum telas*—be broken in pieces.

Origen's Hex. shows several variants: Sym., ἀκαταστατῶν (“*unsteady*”); Theod. the same as LXX.; 5th ed., βεμβῶν; and the reading of some others is, with the Vulg., “*like the web of a spider*,” taking the word from the first שִׁבֵּב which means “*weave*.” A second שִׁבֵּב has the idea of “*divide*,” which of course is the meaning best suited to this passage.

- VIII. 9. הִתְּנוּ—δῶρα (ἡγάπησαν)—*munera dederunt*—hire.

הִתְּנוּ—παροδοθήσονται—*cum mercede conduxerint*—hire.

- II. 14. אֶתְּנָה—μισθώματα—*mercedes*—hire.

The root meaning is “*to stretch out*,” hence “*to offer*,” and it is nearly syn. with נתַן. The Vulg. agrees with the fifth edition found in Origen's Hex. The LXX. translation “*shall be delivered*” in v. 10 implies a Hophal form.

- VIII. 13. הִבְחֵבִי—offerent—mine offerings.

Ges.<sup>10</sup> seems to prefer another meaning which comes from the Aram. הִבְחַב “*to bake*,” and suggests that this may be a North Palestinian expression, especially chosen, for “*burnt offering*.” The Greek translators have found the word difficult. The LXX. appear to leave it out altogether, translating

the passage διότι ἐὰν θύσωσι θυσίαν; Aq., φέρε, φέρε; Sym., ἐπαλλήλους; Theod., μεταφορῶν. There seems no reason to depart from Kimchi's interpretation מתנות "gifts."

- IX. 7, 8. מִשְׁטֵמָה—μανία σου—*amentiae insaniam*—enmity.

The root is שָׁטַם, perhaps the same as שָׁטַן. Ges. Thes. would translate "destruction," but "enmity" seems, on the whole, nearer the ground-meaning.

- IX. 8. יִקְוֶה—σκολιά—*ruinae*—fowlers.

יִקְוֶה occurs three times (Ps. xci. 3; Prov. vi. 5; Jer. v. 26) in the sense of "fowler." יִקְוֶה is probably only a dialectical variation.

- IX. 12. בְּשׁוּרִי—σάρξ μου—*cum recessero*—when I depart from.

Aq. translates ἐκκλιναντός μου. The word is a dialectical variation for סוּר.

- IX. 14. צִמְקִים—ξηροὺς—*arentia*—dry.

Qāl act. part. from צָמַק. The root צָם occurs in a number of words, signifying "that which is of close texture," "hard," hence "dry."

- X. 6. בְּשִׁנְהָ—ἐν δόματι (in (with) a gift)—*confusio*—shame.

A fem. u-class Segh. from בּוֹשׁ.

- X. 9. בְּנֵי עֲלִיָּה—τὰ τέκνα ἀδικίας—*filios iniquitatis*—children of iniquity.

Another form of עוֹלָה.

- XIII. 1. רָתַת—δικαιώματα—*horror*—trembling.

Aq. φρίκην. Keil refers to רָטַת Jer. xlix. 24.

- XIII. 8. סָגוּר—συγκλεισμέν—*interiora*—caul.

Job xxviii. 15 has this same word, which the LXX. translate συγκλεισμέν; Vulg., aurum; R. V., gold. There the word has a passive sense, "that which is shut up," while ours has an active, "the enclosure."

- XIII. 5. תְּלֵאבוֹת—ἀουχίτω—*solitudinis*—great drought.

From תֵּלֵאב\* related to לָהֵב whence לֶהֱבֵא "flame."

- XIII. 10, 14. אֵהִי—ποῦ—(10) *ubi* (14) *ero*—where?

Verse 14 Aq. and Quinta, ποῦ; Sym., εσομαι.

Keil suggests that this is merely a dialectical variation for אֵהִי.

- XIII. 14. קִטְבְּךָ—κέντρον σου—*morsus tuus*—destruction.

Syn. with קָטַב (Ps. xci. 6). The Text. Recep. of the N. T. transposes this word in 1 Cor. xv. 55, placing it in the first clause. The critical editions retain the Hebrew and LXX. order.\*

- XIII. 14. נִחַם—παράκλησας—*consolatio*—repentance.

\* It is curious to note that the LXX. translate נִחַם in this verse, by δίκη σου (Aq. and Quinta οἱ λόγοι σου; Sym., correctly, πλῆγῃ σου), while in 1 Cor. xv. 55 we read τὸ νίκος for ἡ νίκη. In quoting from memory may not the apostle have unconsciously substituted νίκη for δίκη, under the influence of the idea of the preceding quotation from Isaiah, and then to avoid using a new word, have changed the form to τὸ νίκος?

"Repentance" is the meaning best suited to the context, and is given by Ges. Thes. and Ges.<sup>10</sup>

XIII. 15. יִפְרֵיא—διαστελεῖ—*dividet*—though he be fruitful.

Keil explains the irregular writing of the word by its being a play upon the word אִפְרִים. The root meaning of the word is "to break forth;" hence the translators have given, in two of the cases before us, the meaning "divide." This is but one of the frequent interchanges of ל'ה and ל'א forms.

XIV. 1. וְהָרִיתֵינוּ—καὶ αὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσιν—*foetue ejus*—their women with child.

#### JOEL.

I. 8. אֵלִי—θρήνησον—*plange*—lament.

Cognate with יָלַל, אָלַל.

I. 7. לָקַצְפָּה—εἰς συγκλασμόν—*decorticavit*—and barked (*mar.* broken).

קָצַף gives us the idea of "breaking," "tearing," and hence the rendering of the margin seems to be the better.

I. 17. עֲבֹשֶׁן—ἐσκίρτησαν—*computruerunt*—rot (*mar.* shrivel).

Keil gives two contradictory explanations, "to moulder away" and "dry up." The idea of "thickening," "hardening," seems to inhere in the root. The Arabic word "to shrivel," contains the same radicals; there is a close similarity to יָבֵשׁ; and the context favors "loss of vitality by extreme drought," rather than by "decay."

— פָּרָרוֹת—δαμάλεις—*umenta*—seeds.

The LXX. and Vulg. evidently read פָּרָרוֹת hence the translation "heifers." Henderson (*Min. Proph.*) supports the translation "seeds," by reference to the N. T. where the Syriac word ܦܪܪܐ is found in several places meaning "seed." The word is derived from פָּרַד "separate," referring to the scattering of the seed.

— מִגְרַפְתֵּיהֶם—ἐπὶ ταῖς φάτναις αὐτῶν—in *stercore suo*—under their clods.

The root is גָּרַף "to draw." From this root comes אֲגָרוֹף "fist," (*Ex.* xxi. 18; *Isa.* LVIII. 4) "that which is drawn together." It seems preferable to give our word a like force rather than to take it, as Keil does, in the meaning of a "detached piece of earth," "fragment."

— מִמְּגֹרֹת—ἀποθήκαι—*apothecae*—barns.

The parallelism indicates clearly the meaning of this word. A noun formed with מ denoting place, from the subst. מְגֹרָה.

II. 20. הַצִּבּוֹנִי—τὸν ἀπὸ βορρᾶ—*eum, qui ab Aquilone est*—the northern army.

— צַחְחָנוּ—ὁ βρόμος αὐτοῦ—*putredo*—ill savor.

IV. 10. הַחֲלִישׁ—ὁ ἀδύνατος—*infirmus*—the weak.

IV. 11. טִישְׁנוּ—συναθροίσεσθε—*erumpite*—haste ye (*mar.* assemble yourselves).

חִישׁ may be a related root. The text of the R. V. is to be preferred to the margin.

## AMOS.

II. 13. תַּעֲיֵק—*κυλιεται*—*stridet*—*presseth*.

— מַעֲיֵק—*κυλίω*—*stridebo*—*press*.

Ges.<sup>10</sup> gives "turn" as the ground-meaning, which justifies the LXX. The Vulg. uses a word which expresses the result of pressure on a cart, עָקָה (Ps. LV. 4) "pressing down," מוֹעָקָה (Ps. LXVI. 11) "burden" seem to establish the meaning "press."

III. 12. בָּרֶל—*λοβόν*—*extremum*—a piece.

From the root בָּרַל, a Qāl formation. The only trace of the word in the simple stem.

— וְבִרְמִישָׁק (עֲרִשׁ)—*ἐν Δαμασκῷ*—*in Damasci grabato*—on the silken cushions. Henderson (Min. Proph.) renders "Damascus," and indeed the parallelism would seem almost to justify it, were it not that a reference to Damascus seems out of place in this connection. The pointing of this word is well attested and the meaning clear.

IV. 2. בְּצִנּוֹת—*ἐν ὄπλοις*—*in contis*—with hooks.

In the sense of "hook," צֵן is several times used in the O. T.

— דְּוִנָּה (בְּסִירֹת)—*εἰς λέβητας ὑποκαίοντους*—*in ollis ferventibus*—with fish-hooks.

סִיר has been translated "pot" by the Vulg.; and דְּוִנָּה curiously, "boiling," undoubtedly influenced by the meaning taken for סִיר, but the word is plainly an abstract noun meaning "fishery."

IV. 3. הַהֲרֹמֶנֶה—*εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ῥομάν*—*in Armon*—into Harmon.

The translators give each a different rendering to this word. Aq., *εἰς Ἀρμανὰ ὄρος*; Sym., *εἰς Ἑμηνίαν*; Theod., *εἰς ὑψηλὸν ὄρος*; Quinta, *Μονά*. There seems to be a strong probability that the word is simply another form of אֲרָמוֹן "palace," so Henderson, or "citadel." The versions, though differing in some respects, point to the high antiquity at least of our Masoretic text. They seem all to have had the same form before them, and to have felt the same difficulties as modern translators.

IV. 13. יִשְׁחוֹ—*τὸν χριστὸν αὐτοῦ*—*eloquium suum*—his thought.

The LXX. combines the two words מִי־יִשְׁחוֹ reading מִי־שְׁחוֹ "his anointed."

V. 11. בּוֹיִשְׁשֶׁכֶם—*κατεκονδύλιζον*—*diripiebatis*—ye trample upon.

Probably a dialectical variation for בּוֹשֶׁם from בּוֹם.

V. 16. הֵן—*οὐαί*—*vae*—alas.

V. 20. אָפֶל—*γνόφος*—*caligo*—very dark.

Cf. אֶפְלָה Ex. x. 22.

V. 26. סִכְנוֹת—*τὴν σκηνήν*—*tabernaculum*—Sikkuth (*mar. tabernacle*).

— בִּיּוֹן—*Ῥαιφά*—*imaginem*—Chiun (*mar. shrine*) Syr. ܒܝܘܢ.

For the first word Aq. has *συσκiasμοίς*; Sym., *τὴν σκηνήν*; one version (marked ἄλλος in the edition of the Hex. used) *εἰκόνας*.

For the second, Aq. and Sym. simply transliterate *χιοῦν*. The whole passage in the LXX. reads: *καὶ ἀνελάβετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολδᾶ, καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν 'Ραιφάν, τοὺς τύπους αὐτῶν οὓς ἐποίησατε ἑαυτοῖς.\** Theod. reads: *καὶ ἤρατε τὴν θρασι τοῦ βασιλέως ὑμῶν, ἀμαήρῳσιν εἰδόλων ὑμῶν, ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν*. The LXX. evidently misplaced and misread *כיון*, taking *כ* for *ך* which is similar to it in the old Hebrew characters. Henderson seems to prove conclusively that there was a planet named *Kivan*, which was referred to in this place. The Syr. transliteration *כין* shows how early our word was identified with the name of this planet.

- VI. 5. *הַפְּרִיטִים*—*οἱ ἐπικρατοῦντες*—*qui canitis*—that sing idle songs.

Cf. *פָּרַט* Lev. XIX. 10 "scatterings." Henderson makes the word a syn. of *נָצַח* on the authority of the LXX.

- VI. 8. *מַתְאֵב*—*βδελύσσομαι*—*detestor*—abhor.

Probably for *מַתְעֵב*.

- VI. 10. *וּמִסְרָפוֹ*—*καὶ παραβιῶνται*—*et comburet eum*—even he that burneth him.

A dialectical variation for *מִשְׂרָפוֹ*.

- VII. 1. *הַלְקִישׁ*—*ἐωθινή*—*serotini*—latter growth.

*לִקְשׁ*—*βροῦχος*—(a wingless locust)—*serotinus*—latter growth.

Cf. *מִלְקִישׁ* Jo. II. 3.

The LXX. may have read *יִלְק* in the second case. They have misunderstood the whole clause in a very curious way.

- VII. 7, 8. *אֶנְךָ*—*ἀδαμαντίνον, ἀδάμας*—*litem, trulla* (i. e. trowel) *cementarii*—plumb-line.

Literally "lead." Aq. renders *γάνωσις*, "plastering" or "polishing."

- VII. 14. *בֹּקֶר*—*αἰπόλος*—*armentarius*—herdman.

A denominative like *בָּרִים*.

- *וּבֹלֵם*—*κνίζων*—*vellicans*—dresser.

Aq., *ἔρευνῶν*; Sym., *ἐχων*; Theod., *χαρᾶκων* ("hedging") given by Ges.<sup>10</sup> (and Keil) as a denom. from the Arab. word for "fig." The versions, though varying, all express practically the same sense.

- VIII. 8. *כְּאֵר*—*ὡς ποταμός*—*quasi fluvius*—like the River.

- IX. 9. *בִּכְבֵּרָה*—*ἐν τῷ λικμῷ*—*in cribro*—in a sieve.

Aq. and Sym. *κοσκίνῃ* ("sieve").

From *כָּבַר* in the meaning "weave."

- IX. 11. *וְהָרָסָתוֹ*—*καὶ τὰ κατεσκευαμένα*—*ea quae corruerant*—his ruins.

Root *הָרַס* "to tear apart."

\* Stephen follows this closely (Acts vii. 43) inserting *προσκυνεῖν* after *ἐποίησατε* and substituting *αὐτοῖς* for *ἑαυτοῖς*. But the critical editions of the N. T. vary in the proper name, reading *Ῥεμφάν*, *Ῥεφάν*, and *Ῥομφάν*.

## THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION.

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### I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

In his introductory statement of the points agreed upon by the writers in the present discussion, as he apprehends them, my friend Prof. Harper has to some extent misconceived my attitude to the question before us, which I prefer to state in my own words.\*

If the critics were content with attempting a partition of Genesis (or even of the so-called Hexateuch) on purely literary grounds and with drawing what might fairly be reckoned legitimate inferences from such a partition, this would be a matter of curious interest but nothing more. The serious aspect of the affair is that there are presuppositions involved in the arguments employed and there are deductions made which are prejudicial to or subversive of the credibility and inspired authority of the sacred record. This constitutes the gravity of the case, so far as my view of it is concerned and so far as it affects the great body of those who reverence the Scriptures as the word of God. I am accordingly only concerned to show, first, that the partition proposed by the critics in itself and apart from unfriendly prepossessions warrants no such destructive conclusions; secondly, that many of the arguments urged in support of the current critical partition are clearly invalid.

A clear discrimination is to be made in the first place between the partition of the text itself, for which the critics contend, and the inferences professedly deduced from that partition. It is possible to accept the former and yet to retain

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\* I do not object to the statement of the question at issue, *HEBRAICA*, p. 18, § (3), "*Are there really distinct documents?*" i. e. such as the analysis of critics of the present generation presents?" provided it is not limited to the words in italics, but embraces the succeeding explanatory clause as well. It is the *current scheme* of Pentateuch division, adopted alike by critics so widely at variance in other respects as Wellhausen and Kuenen on the one hand and Dillmann and Kittel on the other, which is under discussion. This carries with it not simply the recognition of certain lines of partition, but a series of consequences uniformly regarded by its advocates as flowing from it, impugning the truth and the consistency of the sacred volume. The mutual relations of these supposed documents are accordingly of vital consequence and must necessarily be considered. That Prof. Harper and myself are really at one upon the point to be discussed is evident from the fullness with which he has set forth not merely the analysis, but its commonly accepted consequences.



the right to judge of the legitimacy of the latter. We find in Genesis a continuous, connected and self-consistent narrative, which has all the appearance of a true and veritable history, and, so far as it can now be traced, has always been so regarded by the people among whom it originated; and there appears to be no good reason for discrediting it. The mythical character attaching to the early record of pagan nations is not to be imputed to the biblical account of the primeval age of the world or of the origin of the Israelitish people. For the narrative of the Bible is absolutely unique. It stands alone among all the records of antiquity in preserving in its primitive purity the true knowledge of God, in its freedom from grotesque, mythological conceits, and in presenting a truly rational account and one which is strikingly confirmed in its main outlines at least, if not in all its details, by modern scientific research as no similar document of antiquity can pretend to be, in relation to the origin of the world, the unity of the human race, the primeval history of mankind and the filiation of nations. And as the preliminary stage in a grand scheme of divine revelation continued through succeeding ages, whose reality and supernatural character are attested by the most convincing proofs, it has a well-founded claim to be regarded as transmitting a faithful account of God's dealings with men from the beginning.

And there is an additional guarantee of the truth of Genesis in its Mosaic origin, which in spite of all critical clamor, in spite even of the concessions of eminent evangelical scholars, cannot be set aside. The laws from Exodus to Deuteronomy are, by their own positive claim, by ineffaceable internal indications and by both the express attestation and incidental historical confirmation of subsequent Scriptures, irrefragably Mosaic. And Genesis, which is clearly preliminary to the books that follow, must, as the critics themselves allow, have the same origin as they.

There is something clearly wrong in a critical process which can take a history that in itself is quite consistent and entirely credible, and sunder it into distinct documents which are mutually repugnant and irreconcilable. A purely literary analysis on grounds of diction, style and modes of thought, whatever it might reveal respecting the structure and formation of the book, obviously cannot impair the truth of that which is otherwise credible, or the consistency of that which in itself is harmonious. And in fact the damaging consequences attributed to the critical hypothesis result in great part from inferences resting not on positive data but on the critics. The fundamental vice in the whole process is that they quietly assume what they undertake to demonstrate.

We have the book of Genesis in its present form. According to the current critical hypothesis it was put together by a redactor from pre-existing documents. The portions extracted from each of these documents severally can, it is claimed, be recognized and assigned to the source from which they came. By combining paragraphs of kindred origin the primary documents can again be reproduced in

their distinct and separate state to that extent to which the redactor made use of them in his compilation. It is confessed, however, that no one of them can be restored in its completeness. There are evident breaks in their continuity. There are in each allusions unexplained in any existing paragraph of that particular document. Just how much has been dropped, or what was in the missing portions, cannot of course be known. This being the case, the allegation that a given passage had a meaning in the document from which it was taken, different from that which it obviously has in its present connection and especially a meaning at variance with the connection in which it now stands, is pure assumption on the part of the critic, for which in the nature of the case he can have no adequate justification. He has by his own admission the document in an imperfect state, with no means of filling acknowledged chasms or estimating the amount or the character of what has been omitted, and yet he presumes to challenge the work of the redactor, who by the hypothesis had the documents before him in their original completeness, and to convict him of incapacity or dishonesty. There can be no possible warrant for such a procedure, unless the terms of the paragraph in question are themselves in evident conflict with its existing context. That they are capable of a different interpretation and might be so explained in some other connection is nothing to the purpose. Many passages rent from their connection might have an entirely different meaning put upon them from that which they were intended to have.

So when it is affirmed that two or more paragraphs, which, as they now stand, describe distinct subjects or events, are nevertheless but variant accounts of the very same thing. Without the materials for the formation of a correct judgment it is arbitrarily assumed that the record in its present form is false, and that the redactor has either from ignorance or design combined his sources in a way that misrepresents their real meaning.

So too when a discrepancy is inferred from the silence of one document respecting matters set forth in another. How utterly gratuitous and arbitrary such inferences are, appears from the repeated instances in which from like premises precisely the opposite conclusion is drawn, the exigencies of the critical hypothesis itself compelling its advocates to assume that the redactor found the same thing recorded in two or more of the documents, but deemed it sufficient to extract a single account from one of them and hence passed the others by.

So also when the credibility of Genesis is undermined by alleging that the primary documents out of which it was compiled, were first committed to writing many centuries after the Mosaic age, this conclusion is notoriously and avowedly based on grounds which presuppose their unhistorical character and convert them into fluctuating myths and legends and assume likewise that all the rest of the sacred history has been tampered with and deliberately falsified.

And so in general it will be found that deductions from the critical hypothesis impugning the veracity of Genesis find no real warrant in the analysis itself, but rest upon conjectures and assumptions of the critics. They assume that the record is unreliable and untrustworthy; and every suspicion which their fertile fancy can suggest, however baseless, is accepted as a fresh proof that no dependence can be placed on its statements. It is no marvel if under such treatment its historical character is frittered away completely.

The critical partition of Genesis has been gradually elaborated during more than a century by a succession of scholars of the greatest eminence, who have expended upon it an immense amount of learning, ingenuity and patient toil, until they have at length brought it into a shape in which it is accepted with substantial unanimity by European critics of widely different schools of thought and every various grade of belief and unbelief. This is of course a very significant fact and is entitled to its full weight in the consideration of this subject. That cannot be lightly dismissed which has gained the approval of so many minds. Nevertheless it is not the weight of authority, but the force of the arguments, which is decisive. And the fluctuations of critical opinion in the past, and particularly the rapid and extensive changes which have taken place in the most recent times, caution us not to regard its present state as one of permanent equilibrium.

Some obvious grounds of doubt and hesitation offer themselves at the outset of a general nature which may be noted here.

1. The very ingenuity of the hypothesis and the perfection to which it has been brought, awaken the suspicion that its inventors may have been imposed upon by their own dexterity. In its present form it is a kind of universal solvent. With P, and J, and E, and the added resources of the old fragmentary hypothesis in the shape of P<sup>1</sup>, P<sup>2</sup>, etc., J<sup>1</sup>, J<sup>2</sup>, etc., on the one hand, and minute divisibility on the other, and R ever ready for any emergency in the way of transposition, modification, excision, insertion and readjustment *ad libitum*, and a latitude of conjecture which has no check but the pleasure of the operator, it seems versatile and pliant enough to be equal to anything. There is no mountain of difficulty over which it cannot work its way. There are no phenomena so adverse that it cannot be harmonized with them. It can either shape itself to accord with the facts, or can shape the facts to suit its own requirements. An argument that can prove everything, proves nothing, and one cannot escape the apprehension in the presence of a hypothesis of such universal adaptability that we may be dealing with a subjective creation rather than an objective reality, with skillfully constructed fancies instead of the actual state of the case.

2. This apprehension is increased by the rather impalpable nature of the subject dealt with and the precarious nature of the arguments employed. The wanderer in a trackless wilderness, with no compass and no fixed object to direct

his course, will almost inevitably diverge from a straight line, and may imperceptibly swerve more and more until at length he is moving in an opposite direction from that in which he started. So the very nature of the case renders it well nigh impossible that accurate results should be continuously reached in the manner attempted by the critics. The comparison of certain passages supposed to belong respectively to distinct writers, furnish various criteria of diction, style and sentiment. These criteria direct the division of new passages, which in turn supply additional criteria. And so the work proceeds step by step, each result attained being assumed as the basis of a fresh advance, the accuracy of which is conditioned by the exactness of every previous portion of the process. The liability to error in dealing with so many unknown quantities is very great from first to last; and there is no external standard by which to test the correctness of the results or to ascertain and remove the errors that have been made. And yet a slight deviation at the outset or anywhere along the line, which it might be impossible either to avoid or to detect, would vitiate all subsequent conclusions.

3. This liability to error is seriously increased by the critics' undertaking to deal with such minute quantities. In order to carry the hypothesis through it becomes necessary to sunder individual sentences, clauses and even words from their connection and assign them to authors distinct from the assumed writers of the surrounding context. This is not only precarious in itself, but gives rise to the suspicion that the critical division is regulated by foregone conclusions rather than by a fair consideration of the actual phenomena; and that this mode of manipulation is only a device for getting rid of what is really adverse to the hypothesis.

4. Connected with what has been said is the obvious danger that the critical arguments may prove to be but reasoning in a circle. The text is partitioned agreeably to a given hypothesis; every passage having certain characteristics is assigned to one writer and such as have certain other characteristics to other writers. And when the partition is complete it corresponds with the hypothesis, simply because it was made by the hypothesis.

It is freely conceded that certain phenomena, particularly in the earlier chapters of Genesis, seem to be best explained by the supposition that it was based in whole or in part upon pre-existing written sources. Before the publication of Astruc's "Conjectures," the Dutch theologian and commentator, Vitringa, expressed the belief that "various writings of their fathers were preserved among the Israelites, which Moses collected, digested, embellished, and supplemented." Such an assumption in itself considered, so far from invalidating the record, tends rather to give it additional confirmation, since it increases the number of witnesses and to a certain extent replaces oral tradition by documentary evidence. And it does not in any way affect the question whether the book in its present form is to be ascribed to Moses.

With these prefatory remarks my own attitude to the question under discussion may be briefly stated as follows :

1. The critical analysis of Genesis, so far as it is a purely literary inquiry and apart from the destructive consequences uniformly deduced from it by those who advocate and accept it, may be considered an open question to be determined by literary evidence.

2. The supplementary hypothesis is pressed with fewer difficulties than the documentary hypothesis now in vogue.\*

3. The methods and arguments by which the partition is effected are to so large an extent unsound and the conclusions drawn from them so insecure, that it is exceedingly doubtful whether any safe and satisfactory division in detail is practicable or any approach can be made in this way towards a reconstruction of the presumed original sources.

Prof. Harper divides the passage under review, Gen. 1:1-12:5, into four sections and states the views and arguments of the critics in respect to each of them severally. These sections are now to be examined *seriatim*, and in each of them inquiry will be made into

1. The alleged contradictions and discrepancies which are held to establish the existence of two independent narratives; and it will be found that even though the critical partition were allowed, no such discrepancies exist.

2. The validity of the arguments by which the critical partition is defended.

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\* One insuperable difficulty, as it seems to me, in the ordinary documentary hypothesis is its fundamental assumption that P and J constitute two distinct and independent documents prepared with no reference to each other. It is inconceivable that two separate treatises, written by different authors, neither of whom had any knowledge of the work of the other, could proceed so completely upon the same line in plan and contents. Prof. Harper is at pains (p. 86) to indicate the affinity of P and J in Gen. 1-12:9; he gives a summary of this section of the book under nine heads, each of which is treated in both documents and in the same order. So closely allied are they in fact that R has been able to produce a continuous, regularly unfolding history by piecing together alternate sections from one and the other. The critics may be safely defied to adduce a similar instance in all literature. Such a measure of correspondence cannot have arisen without design: and paragraphs borrowed from independent and unrelated sources cannot be so dovetailed together as to produce the impression of harmonious unity and uninterrupted connection. It was the embarrassment arising from this consideration which led to the substitution of the supplementary for the documentary hypothesis until the most recent school of critics found it necessary to fall back upon the latter, because the former could not be made to harmonize with their revolutionary ideas. If J did not write independently, but simply supplemented P, making additions to a pre-existing document for the sake of incorporating fresh material, the relationship of the parts both in general plan and in numerous minute particulars is more easily accounted for. Principal Cave (*Inspiration of the Old Testament*, p. 208) has recently and as I suppose independently offered the suggestion, first made, so far as I am informed, by Rev. Dr. Schaff, that J was Moses; beside which may be placed the conclusion of Delitzsch based on independent grounds that the "Jehovistic-Deuteronomic" style is the best representative of the primitive Mosaic type (*Neuer Commentar über die Genesis*, p. 20). Who knows whether the higher criticism itself may not yet lead up to the old traditional view of Moses' authorship?

## II. SECTION 1.—GEN. 1-3.

It is alleged, p. 20,\* that these chapters "contain two distinct accounts of creation" which differ so seriously in their "material," p. 27, in several respects, as to be incapable of being harmonized by any fair method of interpretation. Neither of these statements is correct. Ch. 2:4b-3:24, which is assigned to J, does not contain a second account of the creation additional to that of P 1:1-2:3. There is no lack of agreement between these two passages.

These points must be examined separately.

## 1. No Duplicate Account of the Creation.

1) That ch. 2:4 sqq. is not to be so understood in the intention of the writer is plain from the manner in which it is introduced. It is professedly not an account of the creation, but a sequel to that account. Ch. 2:4a, which is the title of the section that follows, announces as its theme "the generations of the heaven and of the earth, when they were created." This is the first of a series of similar titles to the several sections into which the Book of Genesis is divided. The history is parceled into "the generations of Adam," 5:1; "the generations of Noah," 6:9; "the generations of the sons of Noah," 10:1; "the generations of Shem," 11:10; "the generations of Terah," 11:27, etc., etc., to indicate its genealogical character. The proper frame-work of the history is the line of descent traced regularly from Adam to Jacob and his posterity. This line of descent is arrested from time to time in order to introduce such facts as are to be related, and then proceeds again from the point at which it had arrived. Divergent lines are traced, as occasion arises, to a sufficient distance, and are then dropped, the writer then uniformly reverting to the main line of descent, that of the chosen race, which is his principal theme.

The "generations" of Adam, Noah, etc., mean, as is required by the form of the Hebrew word (תולדות), its uniform usage and the contents of the sections so entitled, not the origin or ancestry of Adam, Noah, etc., but their descendants. Accordingly, when for the sake of a more precise correspondence with the titles that are to follow, this term properly belonging to the sphere of human relations is transferred to the material universe in the first title of the series (compare an analogous transfer for a like reason in Luke 3:38), "the generations of the heaven and the earth" must denote not their origin, how they were created or brought into being, but, so to speak, their progeny, that which sprang from them, man the child of heaven and earth, not in any mythical sense, but in the plain and obvious sense of the narrative, his body formed from the dust of the ground, his spirit breathed into him by God himself. It is not an account of the creation of the world that is here announced, but of the formation of man and the first stages of his history upon the earth.

\* All references, not otherwise specified, are to the last number of HEBRAICA.

This evident conclusion is not to be evaded by any critical device. Some would attach 2:4a to the preceding section, 1:1-2:3, as the summary of its contents. But this is impossible for a variety of reasons.

1. It is in violation of the uniform analogy of the whole series of similar titles, which invariably stand at the head, never at the close of the section which they describe.

2. This is confirmed by the identical structure of the immediately following clause here and in 5:1, where the connection is unquestioned. "In the day of Jehovah Elohim's making earth and heaven" follows the title "the generations of the heaven and of the earth" in precise conformity with "in the day of Elohim's creating Adam," after the title "the generations of Adam."

3. If 2:4a is a subscription to the preceding section, then 2:4b-4:26 is the only portion of the book without a title, while 1:1-2:3 will have two titles, one which is entirely appropriate at the beginning, 1:1, and one which is altogether unsuitable at the end.

4. On the divisive hypothesis the additional incongruity results, that when the section ascribed to J (2:4b-ch. 4) is excluded and the connection restored as it originally existed in P, 2:4a will be immediately followed by 5:1, and thus two titles will have stood in direct juxtaposition.

5. As the titles now stand they succeed each other in a perfectly natural order. (1) The creation of heaven and earth in the beginning; (2) the generations of heaven and earth, Adam and his family, the child of both worlds; (3) the generations of Adam traced to Noah and his family; (4) the generations of Noah, and so on.

6. "The generations of the heaven and of the earth" in its proper Hebrew sense does not correspond and cannot by any possibility be made to correspond with the contents of ch. 1, which records the creation of the world instead of giving an account of a being sprung from the world. Dillmann indeed explains it of organized and living things produced upon the earth in the onward progress of creation. But כְּהִנְרָא need not mean "while they were in the course of creation;" Hupfeld shows (*Quellen der Genesis*, pp. 110, 111) that it may as well mean "after they were created," Isa. 6:13; 30:14; 53:9. Even in the sense given to it by Dillmann, however, it would not be applicable to the whole, but only to a part of ch. 1. The firmament and the heavenly bodies, the seas and dry land are identical with the heavens and the earth, not their offspring. The creating and shaping the material universe cannot with propriety be included under the "generations" of the heavens and of the earth, and the writer of the chapter could never have expressed its purport in such terms. And even the vegetable and animal products, which by creative fiat were made to issue from the earth, were wholly of an earthly, not a heavenly, mold. It is not until v. 26 that the creation of man is reached. To the great body of the chapter its alleged subscription is

manifestly inappropriate, and man himself in ch. 1 is considered simply in his place in the general scheme of created things. He is introduced into the world; but there is no record of what befell him or his family, such as we are authorized to expect, such as is in fact given in 2:4b-4:26. Every similar title in Genesis is followed either by a history of the immediate offspring or by successive generations of descendants.

The inappropriateness of 2:4a as a title to ch. 1, which has just been exhibited, is equally valid against the critical suggestion, affirmed (p. 19) without proof or explanation, as though it were the most natural thing in the world, that it originally stood before 1:1 or in its place, but was removed to its present position by the Redactor. No writer, who understood the meaning of its terms, could ever have placed it there. Certainly not the writer who uses it so appropriately everywhere else in Genesis. Or if it was a suitable title for Gen. 1, what possible motive could a sensible Redactor have had for transposing it?

It follows from what has been said that, in the view of the author of 2:4a, and of the author of the Book of Genesis as at present constituted (whether these are the same or different persons), the section which the critics assign to J is not a repetition of that of P, but a sequel to it.

2) That this is really the relation of these two passages will further appear from an examination of their respective contents. Ch. 2 is not a second account of the creation which had already been described in ch. 1. The making of earth and heaven is not narrated but presupposed, 2:4b. No account is given of their formation. No mention is made of the sea and its occupants; none of the sun, moon and stars; none of covering the earth with its varied vegetation; but only of planting a garden in Eden and making its trees grow from the ground, vs. 8,9. When banished from Eden man was to eat "the herb of the field," 3:18, whose existence is thus assumed, but whose production is only spoken of in ch. 1. These particulars could not be omitted from an account of the creation. To say (as Dill.) that they may originally have been contained in ch. 2, but were omitted by R because they were treated sufficiently in ch. 1, is to make an assumption without a particle of evidence, which amounts simply to a confession that ch. 2 is not what it would have been, if the writer had intended to give a narrative of the creation, and that its omissions are with definite reference to the contents of ch. 1.

3) Ch. 2 is evidently throughout preliminary to ch. 3, the narrative of the fall. In order to make this intelligible it was necessary to explain, 1) the two constituents of man's nature, already intimated in the title to the section, which must be known to comprehend the form of the sentence pronounced upon him that dust must return to dust, v. 7, cf. 3:19; 2) the locality, the garden of Eden with its tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, vs. 8-17; 3) the actors, Adam and Eve, and their relation to each other, vs. 18-25. These particulars could not have been incorporated in ch. 1 without marring its symmetry.



That deals with the creation of the world at large. Everything is on a universal scale. And to introduce a detailed description of the garden of Eden, with its arrangements and man's position in it, would be quite inappropriate. The plan and purpose of ch. 1 made it necessary to reserve this for the following section, and it is accordingly given in ch. 2.

## 2. No Discrepancies.

There is no inconsistency between ch. 2 and ch. 1, as the critics pretend. In order to reach the description of the garden of Eden, the writer reminds his readers in precise conformity with ch. 1 that when earth and heaven were first made the former contained nothing for the subsistence of man. There was neither bush nor herb to serve him for food, 2:5. The threefold classification of 1:11,12, grass, herb and tree, is not repeated here, for grass was the food of beasts and not to his purpose. Bush **שיח** is used rather than tree **עץ**, to make the negative stronger. There was not only no tree; there was not even a bush. Subsequently trees, 2:9, as well as herbs, 3:18, are named as the plants yielding food for human use.

The reason given for the absence of food-bearing plants is twofold; there was no rain to moisten the earth and no man to till the ground.\* There is no variance here with ch. 1. The suggestion that if the land had just emerged from the water, rain would not be needed, leaves out of view that according to 1:9,10 the separation of the terrene and the aqueous elements was complete, and the earth was dry land, **יבשה**, before any plants appeared upon its surface. A well-watered garden with ever-flowing streams was to be the abode of man; and in anticipation of it, it was natural to refer to the need of rain. And there is no implication that man was made prior to the existence of vegetation, contrary to 1:12,27. For

1. Ch. 2 alleges nothing respecting the relative priority of man or plants. It does not deal with the general vegetation of the globe any further than to carry us back to a time when it did not exist. Of its actual production ch. 2 says nothing. Its positive statement is restricted to the trees of the garden of Eden, vs. 8,9. And we are nowhere informed that these were brought into being at the same time with "the herb of the field," 3:18, or "the grass," **דשא**. Nothing is said of the origin of grass and herbs or of trees outside of Eden except in ch. 1.

2. The existence of man is stated to be a condition of that of plants designed for human use, not as an antecedent but as a concomitant. His tillage is requisite, 2:5, not to their original production, but to their subsequent care and culti-

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\* My friend, Dr. C. M. Mead, in a casual conversation on this subject, suggested what, if my memory serves me, was also maintained by Ebrard in a little tract on *Natural Science and the Bible* issued several years since, that the last clause of 2:5 is not connected with that which immediately precedes. "There was no plant (for there had been no rain) and there was no man." The critical objection is thus set aside entirely in a very simple manner.

vation. Jehovah planted the garden and made the trees grow in it, and then set man to till it (עָבַד v. 15 as v. 5).

3. The order of statement is plainly not that of time but of association in thought (see Driver's Hebrew Tenses, §§ 75,76; my Hebrew Grammar, § 276. d.; Prof. Harper's Hebrew Syntax, § 24. 2). V. 7, man is formed; v. 8, the garden planted and man put in it; v. 9, trees are made to spring up there; v. 15, man is taken and put in it. We cannot suppose (as Dillmann admits) the writer's meaning to be that man was made before there was any place in which to put him, and that he was kept in suspense until the garden was planted; that he was then put there before the trees, that were to supply him with food, had sprung up; and that after the trees were in readiness he was put there a second time. It is easy to deduce the most preposterous consequences from a writer's words by imputing to them a sense which he never intended. In order to pave the way for an account of the primitive paradise, he had spoken of the earth as originally destitute of any plants on which man might subsist, the existence of such plants being conditioned on that of man himself, 2:5. This naturally leads him to speak first of the formation of man, v. 7, then of the garden, in which he was put, v. 8. A more particular description of the garden is then given, vs. 9-14, and the narrative is again resumed by repeating that man was placed there, v. 15.\* As there was plainly no intention to note the strict chronological succession of events, it cannot in fairness be inferred from the order of the narrative that man was made prior to the trees and plants of Eden, much less that he preceded those of the world at large, of which nothing is here said.

Nor does ch. 2 contradict ch. 1 in respect to the order of the creation of man and of the lower animals. The allegation that it does rests upon the assumption that Waw Consecutive future necessarily implies a sequence in the order of time, which, as we have already seen, is not correct. The record is (v. 19), "And out of the ground Jehovah Elohim formed all the beasts of the field and all the fowls of heaven and brought them to Adam." According to Hebrew usage this need not mean that the birds and beasts were then first formed with the view of providing a suitable companion for Adam. And when the scope of the passage is duly considered it will be seen that this cannot be its meaning.

It is a significant fact that Dr. Delitzsch, who is an adherent of the document hypothesis and can be suspected of no bias against it, and who in all the former editions of his Commentary on Genesis found ch. 1 and ch. 2 at variance on this point, in the last edition, embodying his most matured views, affirms that there is no discrepancy whatever, that "*et formavit...et adduxit = et cum formasset*

\* The critics' assumption that vs. 10-15 (p. 20) or vs. 8b,10-14 (Dill.) is an interpolation, inasmuch as the description of the garden is a departure from strict narrative, which is afterwards resumed, as well as Buddé's notion that the tree of life is to be erased from v. 9 and elsewhere as not belonging to the narrative originally, deserve notice only as illustrating the perfectly arbitrary standard of genuineness which is set up.

*adduxit*," and that this is both "possible in point of style and consonant to the mode of writing in the Bible history." Dr. Dillmann admits that the tense here used might antedate what immediately precedes, but insists that v. 18, "I will make him an help meet for him," implies that the animals were now made as well as brought to Adam. But to suppose that the beasts and birds were made in execution of this divine purpose is not only a grotesque conception in itself, but involves the incongruity that the Lord's first attempts were failures. If there are critics who account this "the natural interpretation" (p. 31) it is in the face of the whole Israelitish conception of Jehovah, as expressed in J and everywhere else. The beasts were brought to Adam not as the companion intended for him, but "to see what he would call them," i. e. to let them make their impression on him and thus awaken in his mind a sense both of his need of companionship and of their unfitness for the purpose. When this had been accomplished, Eve was made. The animals are here regarded simply with a view to this end. If the writer were describing the creation of the inferior animals as such, he would speak of all the orders of living things, not neglecting reptiles and aquatic animals. The principal thought is the Lord's bringing the beasts and birds to Adam; his making them is only referred to as subsidiary to this, with no intention of affirming anything as to the time when they were made.

Dr. Driver (Heb. Tenses, p. 106) finds it "difficult to believe that in the midst of a continuous piece of narrative, such as Gen. 2:19," the Waw Consec. future can be used where a pluperfect would have been in place. It is a familiar fact that Hebrew construction frequently coördinates what in occidental languages would preferably or even necessarily be subordinated. Thus, Gen. 44:22, "the lad cannot leave his father and he will leave his father and he will die," meaning "if he leave his father, the latter will die." Now when the stress lies upon the second of two verbs connected by Waw Consec. future, the sequence in time may be altogether in the second or principal verb and not in that which is in thought subordinate to it. Thus vs. 7,8, "he formed man...and planted a garden...and placed man there" is equivalent to "placed man in the garden which he had planted." Ex. 4:31, "The people believed and heard...and worshiped," i. e. and having heard they worshiped; of course hearing preceded believing. Deut. 31:9, "And Moses wrote this law and delivered it," i. e. he delivered the law which he had written; the delivery of the law was subsequent to the address to Joshua, vs. 7,8, but not the writing of it. In accordance with these analogies\* 2:19 may be

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\* Numerous other examples of a like construction might be adduced, e. g. Gen. 18:2, "and he saw three men...and he saw and ran," i. e. when he saw, he ran. Gen. 24:65, Rebekah spoke to the servant before alighting from the camel. Josh. 2:22,23, "And they abode till the pursuers returned, and the pursuers sought them...and the two men returned," i. e. after the pursuers had vainly sought them the men returned. 1 Sam. 15:17,18, the anointing antedates the previous clause, however it be read. 1 Sam. 28:4, Saul could not have postponed the gathering of his army until the Philistines were encamped in Shunem. 1 Kgs. 18:12,13, "And his sons saw....and

equivalent to "the Lord brought the beasts which he had formed." And this construction seems to be demanded by the following considerations: 1) Throughout the chapter the order of thought is regarded rather than that of time; 2) the limited form of statement does not suit a general creation of the lower animals, but is shaped by the particular end in view; 3) the utterly unbiblical notion of God involved makes it incredible and impossible that the beasts were made with the design expressed in v. 18. The alleged discrepancy accordingly vanishes entirely.

Thus far the way is perfectly clear. The alleged inconsistencies do not exist in the record, but are of the critics' own making. It is surprising that they do not see that in their eagerness to create discrepancies in evidence of a diversity of writers they are cutting away the ground beneath their own feet. Glaring discrepancies might consist with the fragmentary but not with the documentary hypothesis. The manner in which these documents are supposed to be woven together, demands a high degree of skill and intelligence in the Redactor; and to allege at the same time, p. 70, that he "did not have insight sufficient to enable him to see that he was all the time committing grave blunders" is self-contradictory. Arguments that prove too much are as fatal to a hypothesis as arguments that prove too little.

### 3. The Critical Partition.

We are now to enter a more perplexed and difficult region, where the criteria are of a less tangible and decisive character. I do not wish here to be regarded as the advocate of any particular view, but simply as a seeker after truth, ready to accept whatever shall approve itself as in accordance with the facts of the case. We shall endeavor to feel our way gradually along, inquiring what the facts are and then what is their proper interpretation. Many of the critical arguments are manifestly unsound and irrelevant. They require to be carefully sifted, if that which may be really significant is to be distinguished from that which is not. In evidence of separate authorship, p. 21, arguments are drawn from "the language, the style, the material and the theology." The material of this section has already been to some extent considered; we now proceed to the language.

#### 1) THE LANGUAGE OF P.

Thirty words or expressions in 1:1-2:4 are alleged to be characteristic of P; but a slight examination is sufficient to show that they have not the weight which the critics attach to them

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he said," i. e. his sons having seen....he said. Isa. 37:5,6, "And they came to Isai'ah" (they had already delivered their message to him, vs. 3,4) "and he said to them," i. e. they having come he said. Isa. 39:1, he heard before he sent; Dr. Driver suspects an error in the text because the form of expression differs from 2 Kgs. 20:12; but may it not be only another mode of saying the same thing? Jon. 2:4 (the Hebrew enumeration is adopted where this differs from the A. V.) goes back of v. 3, and is amplified in what follows, not reaching the point of time in v. 3 until v. 8. Zech. 7:2 goes back of v. 1, which is only reached again in v. 4. For examples of like construction with Waw Consec. preterite, see Ps. 7:15; Ezek. 17:15.

1. It is easy to produce such lists of any length, where they are plainly unmeaning. Any two opposite pages of a work by any author might be scrutinized, and the words and expressions in each which do not chance to occur in the other noted as characteristic of different writers and used as a basis for the division of the rest of the work, all paragraphs, sentences and clauses being assigned to one or to the other as they happen to correspond to the first or to the second of these pages. Knobel, besides giving full details of the peculiar style, conceptions and aims of the *Rechtsbuch* and *Kriegsbuch*, draws out a list on successive pages of about 100 words and expressions characteristic of each and not occurring in any other document of the Hexateuch, and yet no subsequent critic has accepted his analysis and no one believes that those imaginary sources ever existed. "What would be thought of an attempt to prove the *Ars Poetica* spurious, on the ground that the words *exlex*, *sesquipedalia*, *cotis*, *litura*, *quincunce* and the phrases *purpureus pannus*, *lucidus ordo*, *callida junctura*, *norma loquendi*, *in medias res*, *incredulus odi*, *sagax rerum*, *vivas voces*, *ore rotundo*, *decies repetita*, *laudator temporis acti*, the simile of the mountain and the mouse, and the proverbial saying *occupet extremum scabies*, occur nowhere else in the writings of Horace?"\*

2. The thirty words in question are swept together as with a drag-net, without discrimination. Hapaxlegomena and words of rare occurrence, which of course give no indication of a writer's habitual diction, are joined with the rest. The frequency with which a word occurs in one document or the fact of its absence from another is mechanically noted, without regard to the question whether there was occasion to use it. The use of synonyms in different sections is urged, but no inquiry made whether this is explicable on other grounds than the varying habits of distinct writers. This apparent reliance upon bulk rather than weight, upon multiplying examples without showing that any of them are really pertinent, awakens the suspicion that this may be but a great heap of chaff with very little wheat.

3. The distribution of these words in the Pentateuch is very remarkable and significant. It is such as to show in a glance to any one who is without a theory to support, that whatever they may or may not prove, they certainly do not favor the document hypothesis. These words, in so far as they recur again in a P section of Genesis, do so only in the account of the flood, and are then found again in the Pentateuch, for the most part, only in the legislation. When they do appear elsewhere in Genesis it is never in a P but always in a J section. Their restriction in Genesis to the narratives of the creation and of the flood might be explained in one or other of two ways. It would seem natural to trace it to common features in the subjects treated; the deluge was in a sense the undoing of

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\* J. A. Alexander, *The Earlier Prophecies of Isaiah*, p. xxxi. The examples given of words peculiar to the *Ars Poetica* are of course merely specimens; if it were worth while, the number might be indefinitely increased.

the work of creation, and like expressions might appropriately be employed in describing them both. Or if with the critics, it be imputed to sameness in the choice of words by the common author of both, then upon their method of reasoning it must necessarily follow from the uniform exclusion of all these words from the remaining P sections of Genesis, that the accounts of the creation and of the flood are from a source quite distinct from the rest of the book. And when it is found that several of these same words recur again with considerable frequency in the legislation of the three middle books of the Pentateuch, it might perhaps be inferred that the author of that law (tradition calls him Moses) was in possession of a written history of the creation and deluge; and that in framing his own narrative of those events he adopted its expressions as far as he found it convenient to do so, and that he also borrowed its terms as he had occasion in formulating his laws. Whether there is sufficient warrant for such a conjecture is another matter. But it would at least harmonize with the facts as already stated, which is more than can be said of the ordinary form of the document hypothesis.

In the following classification of the words alleged as characteristic of P they are numbered as on p. 22, for the sake of readier reference. Of course those that occur only in this one passage, as well as those which are also found in passages assigned to J or E, should in fairness be stricken from the list. There is no propriety on any hypothesis in considering them peculiar to P.

a. Occurring nowhere in the Pentateuch but in Gen. 1:1-2:4.

(4) תָּהוּ (also Deut. 32:10 J); בָּהוּ, (7) רִיקִיעַ (9) דֶּשֶׁא (also Deut. 32:2 J); (20) דְּמוּת (also Gen. 5:1,3 quoted from 1:26).

b. Nowhere else in Genesis.

(14) תְּנִינִם (in Pent. only Ex. 7:9,10,12 P; Deut. 32:33 J); (24) כִּבֵּשׁ.

c. In creation and flood.

(2) בָּרָא (Gen. 5:1,2 from 1:27; 6:7 J; Ex. 34:10 (R?); Num. 16:30); (5) תְּהוֹם (Gen. 49:25 J; Ex. 15:5,8 E; Deut. 33:13 E); (16) פָּרוּ וּרְבוּ וּמָלְאוּ (Gen. 1:28) with or without other words of like meaning is found several times elsewhere in P); (17) חֵית הָאָרֶץ.

d. In creation and ritual law.

(1) רָאשִׁית\* (in J Gen. 10:10; 49:3; Ex. 34:26; in E Ex. 23:19; nowhere in Pent. but Gen. 1:1 with prep. כִּי); (8) הִכְרִיל (implies inner distinction and so not the equivalent of פָּרַד, which denotes merely outward separation and

is used by P Gen. 10:5,32; 13:11 as well as J); (8) מִקּוֹה; (11) מֵאֵרֶת; (19) יָרָה (in J Num. 24:19); (28) צָבָא (in J Gen. 21:32; 26:26; Num. 32:27; E Gen. 21:22); (28) מִלְאכָה (J Gen. 33:14; 39:11); (29) קָרַשׁ (in JE Ex. 19:10,14,22,23; 20:8; Josh. 8:5).

e. In creation, flood and ritual law.

(10) מִיץ; (13) שָׂרִיץ verb and noun; (15) הִרְמִשֶׁת (J Gen. 7:8) רִמֵּשׁ noun only in creation and flood in Pent. (in J Gen. 7:23); (18) צֶלֶם (Gen. 5:3 from 1:27); (21) זָכַר (also in Gen. 17 and 34 connected with circumcision); (22) וּנְקִבָּה; (23) זָכַר וּנְקִבָּה; (25) אָכַל (P also uses אָכַל noun Ex. 12:4; 16:16,18,21 and מָאֵכַל Gen. 6:21 which verse plainly shows that it is not the equivalent of אָכַל and substituted for it by J and E); (27) שָׁבַת verb (J Ex. 5:5; 16:30; 34:21; Deut. 32:28; E Ex. 23:12).

The above list contains all the words pronounced characteristic of P except (3) אֱלֹהִים which is reserved for future consideration;

\* As to the suggestion that J and E use בְּתוֹלָה instead of בְּרָאשִׁית, it is to be said that they never have occasion to speak of the absolute beginning of all things, which is here referred to, they only need a phrase meaning *at first*. They both use רָאשִׁית as well as תּוֹלָה, and P would have done the same had there been occasion for it, just as both words are found in other O. T. writings, e. g. Ecclesiastes (7:8; 10:13) and Hosea (1:2; 9:10).

(12)  $\text{לְיָמַי}$  in a "loose and general sense instead of  $\text{לְיָמָיו}$  or  $\text{לְיָמָיו}$ ," which is found as well in J Gen. 15:10; 18:8; 30:40; 39:4,8,20; 41:41, and in E, Gen. 40:3,18; 41:10,42,48; and (30)  $\text{וְלִי לְיָמַי}$ , which is so far from lending any support to the hypothesis, that it can only be classed as belonging to P, on the prior assumption of the truth of the hypothesis. It is assigned to P, not by reason of its environment, but notwithstanding the fact that it is here the title of a J section to which it is assumed that it has been transferred from a former imaginary position at the beginning of ch. 1, for which it is not suitable and where it

could never have stood. Again in 37:2 it introduces a section composed of alternate paragraphs of J and E, in which there is not a single sentence from P until 41:46, and then not another till 46:6. Still further, in 11:27 and 25:19 it is followed by long passages from J with scarcely anything from P. The natural inference of one who had no preconceived theory in the case, would be that these titles prefixed alike to J and to P sections were either suggestive of their common authorship or at least that they proceeded from him to whom Genesis owes its present form, be he author or compiler.

If the total absence of all these words from any P sections in Genesis except those of the creation and flood does not disprove unity of authorship, how does an absence not quite so absolute from J sections indicate diversity of authorship? Or what cogency is there in a method of argument which does not work both ways, which is held to be conclusive whenever it makes in favor of the hypothesis, but is quietly disregarded whenever it makes against it?

It may be safely said that the diction of 1:1-2:4 gives no aid or comfort to the hypothesis: how is it with that of J in 2:4-3:24?

## 2) THE LANGUAGE OF J.

Forty words and expressions are adduced as characteristic of J in this section; and they are held to be significant, p. 21, since "they occur in what purports to be a treatment of the same subject." It has already been shown that this is an error. The subject is not and does not purport to be the same. It is distinctly announced both in the title, 2:4a, and in the opening words, v. 4b, that what follows is not a fresh account of the creation, but its sequel, viz. the first stage of human history transacted upon the scene already prepared for it. Ch. 3 is a narrative of the fall and in no sense parallel to ch. 1, and ch. 2 is purely preliminary to ch. 3.

In fact it is as inconsistent with the hypothesis of the critics as with that of unity of authorship to find here two divergent stories of the creation. The Redactor does not place them side by side as two varying accounts, which he makes no attempt to reconcile, but lays before his readers precisely as he found them. There is no intimation that they are alternatives, one or the other of which may be accepted at pleasure. On the contrary ch. 1 and ch. 2 are recorded as equally true, mutually supplementary and to be credited alike. Inconsistency apart, however, it is supposable that a compiler might place side by side related statements drawn from distinct sources, when a single writer would have wrought the whole into one continuous statement, thus avoiding needless repetition. It is a fair question, therefore, why the facts in ch. 2 concerning the creation of man

and his location in Eden were not included in ch. 1, and thus the necessity obviated of recurring to a matter already partially treated. The reason is not far to seek. Ch. 1 deals with the creation of the world as a whole. The scale upon which it is wrought is that of heaven, earth and sea. Man is introduced simply as the crowning apex of the vast pyramid of created things. The details of ch. 2 would here have been quite out of place and have marred the symmetry and grandeur of the entire description. They were hence reserved for a more appropriate place, and this is in accordance with the method of the writer elsewhere. Each of the ten books of generations, p. 19, into which Genesis is divided, is in a manner complete in itself, though this may require a return to what has been already stated in a different connection. Cf. 4:25,26 with 5:1-6; 5:32 and 6:5-8 with 6:9-13; 10:22-25 with 11:10-16; 11:26 with v. 27; 25:12 with 16:1 sqq. etc., etc.

While the theme of ch. 2 is not identical with that of ch. 1, matters previously treated are to a certain extent brought under review again, though with a different design and under a different aspect. Now the critics allege that J differs from P in the terms applied to the same acts and objects, thereby showing that it is by a different writer. We shall examine the cases adduced, retaining the numbers of pp. 23,24 for easier reference.

(1) עֵשָׂה for which P is said to use בָּרָא. But עֵשָׂה is used ten times in ch. 1, and of the same things as בָּרָא. Cf. 1:1 with vs. 7,8; 1:26 with v. 27; 1:21 with v. 25.

(2) The divine names will be considered hereafter.

(3) עֵשֶׂב הַשָּׂדֶה, שִׁיחַ הַשָּׂדֶה, 2:5; (17) חֵיט הַשָּׂדֶה 2:19,20. עֵשֶׂב *bush* instead of עֵץ *tree*, as 1:11,12, has been explained already, and J has עֵץ 2:9 sqq.; שִׁיחַ besides in the entire Hexateuch only Gen. 21:15 E. It is not surprising, therefore, that it is not found in P. But why has J bush of the *field*, herb of the *field*, beast of the *field*, while P has beast of the *earth*, 1:24,25,30 and so 9:2,10? The open field is in tacit contrast with the enclosed and cultivated garden, see 3:18. "Beast of the field" is the ordinary phrase throughout the Bible. But terrestrial in contrast with aquatic animals, 1:21,22, and when the whole broad earth is spoken of, are naturally called beasts of the earth or land, cf. 1:29; Ex. 10:12,15 E.

(5) צִמָּח 2:5 J, for which P is said to use תֹּצֵא 1:12; but P has צִמָּח Lev. 18:37, and J has it but once outside of the present narrative, Ex. 10:5; Gen. 41:6,23 belongs to E, a distinct writer.

(7) הָאָרֶץ 2:5 J, while P has הָאָרֶץ. But

these are not precise equivalents, as is shown by their discriminating use, 2:5; 4:12,14. When tillage is spoken of or productive soil, אֲדָמָה is the proper word and it so occurs 80 times. As P never mentions this, he has no occasion for the word in that sense. אֲדָמָה is also earth as a material, Gen. 2:7,19; 3:19; Ex. 20:24, of which P does not chance to speak. The surface of the ground is expressed by either term both by P and J. Thus אֲדָמָה with רָמַשׁ (noun or verb) P Gen. 1:25; 6:20; 9:2; J Gen. 7:8; Lev. 20:25. עַל פְּנֵי הָאָדָמָה Gen. 8:8 J, but עַל פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ v. 9; also Gen. 7:3; 11:4,8,9 J as well as Gen. 1:29 P; and but for the sharp critical practice which does not hesitate to sunder a clause from the midst of its paragraph, 8:13, with its פְּנֵי הָאָדָמָה would be assigned to P. The only thing at all peculiar is that while both P and J in numberless instances use אֲרֶץ for the land of Canaan, אֲדָמָה is so used five times, four of which are referred to J, Gen. 28:15; Lev. 20:24; Num. 11:12; 32:11, and one to E, Ex. 20:12; and it is twice used by J for the whole earth מִשְׁפְּחוֹת הָאָדָמָה Gen. 12:3; 28:14, while the parallels הָאָרֶץ Gen. 18:18; 22:18; 26:4, though in a J connection are each time referred to R.



(8) יצר *form* J is not, as alleged, the equivalent of ברא *create* P. The latter emphasizes the immediate divine act, the former is suggestive of the material employed. In Isa. 43:1; 45:7,12,18 ברא יצר and עשה are used together and in the same sentence of God's almighty creative work. יצר *form* is not inconsistent with the creative *flat* (p. 80), Isa. 44:24,28-28. All that is said about "laboriously gathering materials, moistening the clay and shaping it by personal manipulation" belongs to the interpreter, not to the sacred record. The earth was moistened for the growth of plants, 2:5,6, not with a view to the formation of man. יצר occurs nowhere in the Hexateuch except in this chapter; in the only other instance in which J alludes to the creation of man, he uses ברא Gen. 6:7. And if the absence of יצר from the rest of J has no significance, why is there any in its absence from P? A noun derived from this root occurs twice in J, Gen. 6:5; 8:21, both times in the narrative of the flood. If any meaning is attached to this, it can only be to link the accounts of the creation and the deluge together, as before hinted, and to sever them from the rest of Genesis.

(11) נשמת חיים J, while P is said to use רוח חיים (twice, viz., Gen. 6:17; 7:15), and רוח of the Spirit of God, 1:2. But רוח also in J, Gen. 6:3; Num. 11:29. נשמה occurs in all six times in the Pentateuch, four times in D and twice only in J, once without רוח Gen. 2:7, and once with it, 7:22, where the critics say that רוח is an interpolation by R, for no other reason than that it does not suit the hypothesis.

(12) שנים J, which P also uses Gen. 6:16 and often elsewhere; as to the allegation that P does and J does not use נתן in this sense see No. 12, language of P.

(13) האדם (37) לאדם common noun in J, proper noun in P. But J uses אדם as a proper noun 4:26 and P as a common noun, 1:26,27; 5:2. If the argument proves anything, it proves that 5:2 is by a different writer from vs. 3-5.

(22) נחש J; "P uses תנין." But the words are not equivalents. תנין means *extended*, and is applied to creatures of unusual length, marine animals, Gen. 1:21, as well as serpents Ex. 7:9,10,12. The application of a generic term in one passage and of a specific term in another

to the same thing, does not argue diversity of writers, unless a man who has once spoken of a snake cannot vary his expression and call it a reptile.

These are all the words in which the language of ch. 2 is contrasted with that of ch. 1; and every variation is readily explained by the connection and by the shade of meaning to be expressed.

There are two other words and two grammatical constructions in which the language of ch. 2, 8 is contrasted with that of P elsewhere.

(19) סגר 2:21 J for which P's equivalent is said to be סכר; but this latter only occurs once in the entire Hexateuch, Gen. 8:2; and P uses סגר Ex. 14:3.

(36) הרבה ארבה 3:16 J but twice beside in Hex., J 16:10, and R 22:17, who, according to Dillmann, has made a free addition of his own. In Ex. 32:13 J ארבה is without the infinitive, though based upon Gen. 22:17. How J could quote R, who by the hypothesis was subsequent to his time, it is not for me to say. But if J uses this combination in two places, and failed to employ it when there was such an obvious reason for his doing so, what is there surprising in its absence from P, who, moreover, does use the infin. abs. with the finite verb in other cases, e. g. Ex. 31:14,15; Lev. 7:24; 10:18.

(38) שמע לקול 3:17 occurs in but two passages besides in J, Gen. 16:2; Ex. 4:8,9. Ex. 3:18; 15:28; 18:24 belong to E. Commonly שמע has a different construction in J as it has in P.

(41) נרש in P only in Qal, it is said, while in J it is mostly in Piel. J has the Piel twice in Genesis, 3:24; 4:14, and three times in the rest of the Hexateuch, Ex. 2:17; 6:1; Num. 22:11, and the Qal once, Ex. 34:11, whereas in P it is the participle that is used. The Piel and Pual participles nowhere occur, their place being apparently supplied as in some other verbs by Qal forms. Moreover, as the tense-forms in Piel differ from those of Qal in the vowels only, how could J have written differently, if he meant to use the Qal in every case, unless he had the Massoretic points at his command?

These expressions are of so infrequent occurrence in J itself, that their not chancing

to be found in P warrants no inference of diversity of authorship.

In the remaining instances adduced it is not pretended that P and J express the same thought by means of different words or constructions, but simply that certain words or forms occur in J which are either not found at all or not with the same frequency in P. These are entirely irrelevant, and are so admitted to be, p. 24, unless two things are first shown, viz.:

1. That they are wanting in P for some other reason than simply that he has no occasion to use them. If J does and P does not say (8) *מטר* *rain*; (10) *אפים* *nose*; *אף* *anger*; (14) *דמור* *desire* and (33) *עקב* *heel*, what of it? Are we to infer that P did not know the names of the members of the body, or the words expressive of ordinary emotions or of familiar objects? If he wished to say "nose" or "heel," what else could he call them?

2. That their apparent absence from P is not itself due to the critics' having systematically shaped the sections which they assign to P so as to exclude them. If the documents P and J existed in a separate state, their respective diction could with some confidence be compared. But when the separation is first made by the critics themselves at their own pleasure, and the criterion of division is the assumed diction of each, the result corresponds with the hypothesis for the simple reason that it was fixed by the hypothesis. How can it be expected that a given word will be found in P, when its presence in any passage or clause is held to be decisive proof that the latter does not belong to P?

As no attempt is made to establish either of these points in respect to the rest of the words adduced as characteristic of J, there is absolutely nothing in them that calls for a reply. And there would not be, if the list were ten times as long. Arguments that prove nothing become no more cogent by being multiplied; unless the intention be to create the impression that where there is so much smoke there must be some fire. Identity of authorship is neither proved nor disproved by summing up the words in different paragraphs and estimating the proportion of those that are the same or that are unlike.

But besides this fatal defect in the argument, several of these words are of no force for the purpose for which they are adduced for the further reason that they are of rare occurrence and hence afford no indication of a writer's habitual diction.

Thus (9) *נפח* Gen. 2:7, (18) *בנה* spoken of God, 2:22, (23) *ערום* 3:1, are found nowhere else in the Hexateuch. The noun *עור* (15) occurs nowhere in J except in 2:18, 20, and the corresponding verb only occurs in J twice, Gen. 49:25; Deut. 32:33. The combination (6) *ננר* 2:18, 20 is found nowhere else in the Bible, and *ננר* itself but twice besides in J in Genesis, 33:12; 47:15. The verb *פקח* (25) occurs nowhere in J but in Gen. 3:5, 7; an adjective derived from it is found once in J Ex. 4:11 and but once besides in the Bible. (28) *שכל* 3:8 occurs but once besides in J, Gen. 48:14. (27) *חבא* Gen. 3:8, 10 occurs again in an E context, where Dillmann thinks it was "probably an insertion from J," and six times in Joshua, where it is in each case uncertain whether it belongs to J or not. (34) The noun *עצב* 3:16 occurs nowhere else in the Hexateuch; *עצבן* 3:16, 17, but once besides in the Bible, 5:29, with direct allusion to the former passage. The verb *עצב* occurs in the Hexateuch three times, Gen. 6:6 J; 34:7, which is sandwiched between two verses of P and is itself a curious critical conglomerate, having a phrase of D and another of E, but all assigned to J on account of *עצב* and *חרה*; and finally 45:5, which is in an E connection; but both verbs occur again and without regard to strict consistency with the former decision a compromise is effected and one is assigned to J, the other to E. (35) The noun *הרון* 3:16 is found nowhere else in the Bible. The cognate verb *הרה* is in Gen. 21:2 referred to P by Dillmann; but Kautzsch and Socin cut out the clause and assign it to J avowedly on the ground that it always belongs to either J or E.

The only words in the whole list that have any show of plausibility are the particles, viz. (4) *טרים*; (20) *הפעם*; (21) *על כן*; (24) *פן*; (28) *אִי* or *אִיה*; (29) *לבלתי*; (30) *זאת*; (39) *מה*; (40) *עתה*. Such words of relation are not so directly determined by the subject treated and hence might seem to betray more the writer's style of thought. But even here

the bare fact of their occurrence or non-occurrence in certain paragraphs is not of itself an available argument. It must first be shown that they occur in one and not in the other, where there was equal occasion for employing them, and that the paragraphs have not been adjusted with the view of including or excluding them according to a preconceived hypothesis. The reasonableness of this demand may be illustrated by a few examples. **טָרַם** occurs but once in J in Genesis (2:5), and **בָּטָרַם** but once in J in Genesis (45:28), unless Dillmann is

right as against Wellhausen in assigning 37:18b to him; and yet Dillmann in 27:4,83 makes **בָּטָרַם** a mark of E in distinction from J. Gen. 30:20b in an E connection is attributed to J simply because **וַיִּפְעֶם** must always belong to him. Knobel and Nöldeke were inconsiderate enough to allow Ex. 15:23 with its **עַל כֵּן** to P, but other critics have since come to the rescue and taken it from him. Nöldeke also gave Lev. 20:4; Num. 9:7 to P; but the presence of **לְבִלְתִּי** in these verses has determined later critics to assign them differently.

How much weight critics themselves attach to the arguments thus far reviewed, even when fortified by the additional considerations drawn from the style and the theology of these opening sections, appears from the statement, p. 24, "The first chapter of Genesis is supposed by most critics not to be original with P, but to have been incorporated by him in his work from some outside source. If this is true, it should not be cited as a specimen of P's style." It is added immediately after, "Ch. 2:4b-3:25, on the other hand, is an excellent specimen of J." But the venerable Dr. Reuss, the father of the present reigning school of criticism, is of a different mind. He declares positively,\* "The Jehovist did not write chs. 2,3," and expresses grave doubts about the ascription to him of any of the passages attributed to him in Gen. chs. 1-11, adding that the old supplementary hypothesis can scarcely be escaped in dealing with some of these passages. Wellhausen†, too, the acknowledged leader of the school, has reached the same conclusion in respect to Gen. chs. 2,3 on different grounds, contending that it was not written by the J of the rest of Genesis or of the Hexateuch generally. When the critics are thus at variance, who is to decide between them? and what is to be thought of the arguments from diction, style and theology, as tests of authorship, which eminent scholars can thus unceremoniously set aside as inconclusive? So that, after toiling through these alleged marks of P in ch. 1, and of J in chs. 2,3, we are told at last, on high authority, that P did not write the one nor J the other, and that all the supposed criteria are meaningless.

Before leaving the diction of these chapters, attention should be drawn to some indications that they are not, as has been claimed, from separate and independent documents. It is generally conceded that the use of **יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים** throughout chs. 2,3, is a tacit reference to ch. 1. This combination of divine names occurs nowhere else with such regularity and frequency, though it is found sporadically in other passages, e. g. Ex. 9:30; 2 Sam. 7:22,25; 1 Chron. 17:16,17; Jon. 4:6. This both relieves it from the charge of being "an un-Hebraic expression," p. 23, and sets aside Hupfeld's notion that it is adopted here without refer-

\* *Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Alten Testaments*, p. 255 sqq.

† *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 13.

ence to ch. 1 as peculiarly appropriate to the state of paradise, from which there is a descent to Jehovah alone after the fall, just as P is supposed to rise from Elohim in the patriarchal period to Jehovah in the days of Moses. The union of the names is intended to suggest that Jehovah now first introduced is identical with Elohim before spoken of in ch. 1. It is employed with evident allusion to the contents of ch. 1, and it pervades chs. 2,3. The critics say that Elohim was here introduced by R, though he is ordinarily chary of meddling with the divine names. But this must be viewed in connection with various other indications which enter into the tissue of these passages and are not so easily disposed of.

Note, for example, such facts as the following: If the construction of בראשית 1:1 adopted by Dillmann and favored p. 22 is correct, there is a remarkable similarity in structure, the more striking because it is unusual in Hebrew style, between P 1:1-3 and J 2:4b-7; a noun with ב in construction before the following verb begins the sentence, a circumstantial clause of some length is then introduced, and the principal sentence is continued by a future with a Waw Consec. J 2:4b strikingly resembles P 5:1b in the form of expression; so do 1:4a P and 6:2a J; 1:31a, 6:12a P, 8:13b J. ארץ without the article 1:24 P as

2:4 J. The paronomasia תהו ובהו 1:2; פרו 1:22,28 P recalls in J ארמה... אדם 2:7; עפר ואפר 4:14; נע ונר 2:3; אש... אש 2:3; 18:27. The first pers. plur. used of God, 1:26 P, notwithstanding the strictness of Hebrew monotheism has its counterpart in J 3:22; 11:7. 2:4b J is an explicit allusion to the preceding account of the formation of the universe, as 5:1b is to that of the creation of man. The use of עשה 3:1 J in reference to the beasts instead of עצר formed as 2:19 J, is a reminiscence of 1:25 P. כרובים cherubim 3:24 J occurs in the Pentateuch besides only in P.

In addition to verbal coincidences and allusions, the distribution of the matter between these two sections gives evidence of pre-arrangement and cannot be purely accidental. This is recognized p. 27, in calling one "generic" and the other "individual." The creation of the world at large, heaven, earth and sea with all that they contain, is stated in ch. 1 and assumed in ch. 2. The latter simply gives details, which were necessarily passed over in the plan of the former, respecting the separate formation of man and woman and fitting up the garden for their habitation. Ch. 2:19 is the only apparent exception to the specific and limited character of this section. But even this is no real exception, since it is obvious, as has already been shown, that what the writer really means to say and what according to the laws of Hebrew speech he does say, is not that the beasts were originally made with the motive stated in v. 18, but that this furnished the occasion of God's bringing them to Adam to receive their names. Again, God gave names to certain things in ch. 1, Adam gave names to others in chs. 2,3; and these are precisely adjusted to one another, neither duplicating nor omitting any. God gave names to day and night, heaven, earth and seas 1:5,8,10, and to Adam 5:1. Adam gave names to the inferior animals 2:20 and to Eve 2:23, 3:20.

And while it is plain that chs. 2,3 is thus adjusted to ch. 1, it is no less clear that 1:1-2:3 anticipates what is to follow and purposely prepares the way for it. 1. The emphasis with which it is repeated at the close of each creative act "and God saw that it was good," 1:4,10,12, etc., and affirmed at the end of the whole

"behold, it was very good," v. 31, would be unmeaning except as a designed preliminary to the reverse which was shortly to follow in the fall ch. 3. And this moreover is necessary to explain the otherwise unaccountable declaration 6:11 that "the earth was corrupt before God," the mystery of which is unrelieved by anything that P contains.

2. Ch. 2:3 is evidently preliminary to the fourth commandment Ex. 20:8-11, which again in its terms distinctly refers back to 1:1-2:3. The ten commandments in Ex. 20 are by the critics referred to E, with which according to Dillmann J was acquainted. He must, therefore, have known and believed that the world was created in six days, and can have written nothing in Gen. chs. 2,3 inconsistent with this belief. This can only be evaded by alleging that the commandments are not preserved in Ex. 20 in their genuine original form. Dillmann disputes Ex. 20:11, because a different reason is given for observing the Sabbath in Deut. 5:15. But Ex. 20 is the authentic transcript, while Deut. 5 is a reproduction with hortatory modifications. This Dillmann admits in other instances; but Delitzsch very properly contends that this is no exception. The rejection of the verse is simply the usual device of the critics for disposing of whatever contravenes their hypothesis. Instead of adapting their hypothesis to the phenomena presented by the text, they insist upon remodeling the text into accordance with their hypothesis. The advantage of this method is that the critic can thus triumphantly establish whatever he sets out to prove.

The inner relation of the early chapters of Genesis and of the various sections in this book and in the rest of the Pentateuch which are held to be most closely connected with them severally, is of prime importance in determining the constitution of the Pentateuch and in seeking to obtain a satisfactory view of the method in which it originated. Adopting the critical nomenclature P and J as convenient designations of the portions to which they are ordinarily applied, without any prepossessions for or against their original separateness, it may be confidently affirmed that they cannot possibly represent independent and unrelated documents, as the critics commonly assume, as though each was written without reference to the other and with no knowledge of its existence. Pursuing the same general plan and running parallel to each other to such an extent that they were capable of being intertwined as we now find them, having besides so many points of connection in the way of direct allusions or presuppositions and implications, such as we have already discovered and as will appear more and more as we advance, they certainly have much more in common than can be explained as fortuitous coincidences of quite independent writers.

And when the critics go farther and, for the sake of making their original separateness more complete, claim that P and J are in repeated instances mutually inconsistent and contradictory, their hypothesis is suicidal. No intelligent redactor could have combined them as they are combined.

## III. SECTION 2.—GEN. 4,5.

It is affirmed 1) that the genealogy preserved by J ch. 4:1,17-22 and that given by P ch. 5 are not, as they appear to be, two separate lines of descent from Adam, but are "practically the same," p. 36. One and the same list of names has by some blunder been attached to different ancestors, and been converted into two races of opposite character, that of ungodly Cain and of godly Seth. 2) That ch. 4 J is at variance with itself and with other parts of the J document.

## 1. The two Genealogies not Identical.

Their identity is asserted purely on the ground of the remarkable similarity of names, p. 35. But

1. This is to set aside explicit and repeated historical testimony for no other reason than mere conjecture. It is gratuitously assumed not only that two genealogies recorded respectively by J and by P are the same, though professedly different; but this though on the critics' own theory P's genealogy is independently confirmed by J. The line Adam, Seth, Enosh is traced Gen. 4:25,26 J as well as 5:3-6 P, and as the critics assign 5:29 to J as another fragment of the same, p. 36 (1), these broken and scattered links in J utter the same voice with the more complete record of P, declaring that Noah and his father Lamech were descended not from Cain but from Seth. The distinctness of the two lines is moreover positively affirmed by calling Seth "another seed instead of Abel whom Cain slew."

2. It requires a vast amount of critical manipulation to get rid of this testimony. In 4:25 the word "again" in the first clause, and the whole of the last clause after the word וְאֵת viz. "another instead of Abel whom Cain slew" must be thrown out as an interpolation by R. The statement 4:1 that Cain was the son of Adam and Eve must be gotten out of the way to make him the same as Kenan the son of Enosh 5:9. The story of Cain and Abel must have been removed by R from its original place at a later point in the history. And Abel, as Wellhausen does not hesitate to say, is another name for Jabal, 4:20, of the sixth generation after Cain. All this wonderful medley is for the sake of consistently carrying through a conjecture, which implies that R was devoid of sense, and that neither P nor J understood the materials which they had before them, but which are so obvious to modern critics.

3. But it is said "It cannot be called a mere coincidence that the names are so nearly alike." Is it then an unheard-of thing that different persons should bear the same name? Does it discredit the roll of the kings of England, that the succession Edward-Richard-Henry occurs more than once in the course of it? If some one should affirm the identity of the German emperor Maximilian with the late unhappy ruler of Mexico, or of Saul the king of Israel with Saul of Tarsus, or of General Butler with the chief Butler of Pharaoh in the time of Joseph, would it be thought best to reconstruct history on this basis?

Delitzsch directs attention to the fact that but two names are the same in the entire series, viz. Enoch and Lamech. The first means *initiation* or *consecration*, and might very well be applied in the former sense to the first son of Cain born in exile as subsequently to the first born of Reuben, Gen. 46:9, and in the latter sense to that holy man who walked with God and was not for God took him. The meaning of the name Lamech is unknown: but the identification of the persons so called is forbidden by the speeches preserved from them, which reflect totally diverse characters. Cain and Kenan, Irad and Jared are distinct not merely in their form but in their radical letters and probable signification; so is the second and determining member in the compound names Methushael and Methuselah. The statement, p. 86 (5), that "a slight alteration has taken place" in these names is simply a confession that they are not the same. The hint, p. 86 *note*, of "a desire on the part of the writer to give to the descendants of Cain names with a bad meaning and to the descendants of Seth names with a good meaning" appears to find some confirmation in Mahalalel *praise of God* which stands over against Mehujael *smitten of God*.

Does not this in fact suggest a plausible solution of the whole mystery? The meaning of the most of these ancient names cannot now be ascertained. It is natural to suppose, however, that they are Hebrew representatives either of the names actually borne by these antediluvians or of appropriate designations subsequently applied to them. The disposition to produce like-sounding contrasts shown in Isa. 5:7, **זַעֲקָה-צִדְקָה, מִשְׁפַּח-מִשְׁפָּט**, or by slight modifications, as of Beelzebub into Beelzebul, or Shechem into Sychar, to give a different turn to the meaning of words may have ruled in producing the parallelisms of these lists, in which the same or similar names may have had different though appropriate senses. The fact also that the LXX. has two more names common to both lists than the Hebrew, suggests the tendency in such cases to come into a closer approximation in the course of repeated transcription.\* That the larger portion of these names is no longer capable of a satisfactory explanation is not surprising, considering their very high antiquity and the multitude of other proper names which were doubtless significant at first, but which are not explicable now.

4. Gen. 5:3 does not necessarily imply that Seth was the first child of Adam, any more than Ex. 2:1,2 implies that Moses was the oldest child of his parents, though v. 4 declares the contrary, not to speak of Ex. 7:7.

## 2. No Discrepancy in Gen. ch. 4.

It is said that 4:17-24 is at variance with the rest of the chapter and with the J document generally in respect both 1) to the life of Cain and 2) the fact of the deluge. It is hence claimed that it must be considered to be an extract from some older document, J<sup>1</sup>, which has been incorporated in J.

\* Cf. "Kabil" and "Habil," the Mohammedan names for Cain and Abel. Sale's Koran, note to ch. 5:30.

1. J represents Cain, vs. 11,14, as condemned for the murder of his brother to be a fugitive and vagabond in the earth; according to J<sup>1</sup> he led a settled life and built a city, v. 17. *a.* It then remains to be accounted for, if these stories are in such direct antagonism, how R could have put them together without explanation or remark, as though he perceived no conflict between them and had no idea that his readers would suspect any. *b.* The fact is, that Cain was expelled from the seat of God's presence, the society of man and cultivated land to the wild steppes of the land of Nod (so called from נֹד in his sentence, equivalent to the Nomad region). The Hebrew עִיר *city* is in usage broad enough to cover a nomadic encampment, Num. 13:19, cf. 2 Kgs. 17:9. The dread lest his murder might be avenged, v. 14, betrayed itself afresh in his constructing such a defence for himself and his family, which subsequently may have grown from these small beginnings into much larger proportions.\* The builders of the first huts on the site of Chicago may be said to have laid the foundations of that city. *c.* Cain had previously been a tiller of the ground. That he continued to be "an agriculturist," p. 60, is certainly not stated in the text, and is in fact inconsistent with it. The arts developed by his descendants are those of nomads, viz., pasturage, music and mining, but not the cultivation of the soil. Jabal was "the father of such as dwell in tents and have cattle" in a very different sense from that in which Abel was "a keeper of sheep" at his paternal home.

2. That these nomadic arts could not have been developed prior to the deluge or that the fact of such development would not have been mentioned by the writer, had he known of the deluge, is certainly not obvious enough to justify the assertion, p. 60, that "this could have been written only by one who knew of no interruption of human history by the deluge."

*a.* It is said in defence of this astonishing statement, p. 87 (10), that this "gives us the origin of the arts as they existed in the time of the writer." But this leaves out of view the fact that agriculture and all that pertains to it is not one of these arts, and yet to the Hebrew mind this was the chief of human occupations, the one most favored and principally regarded in their national constitution and upon which their whole scheme of life was based. Such an oversight on the part of J<sup>1</sup> becomes all the more unaccountable upon the critical hypothesis that it was written after the settlement in Canaan. So far is it from being true that "the three sons of Lamech are made the fathers of the world, classified according to types of civilization," p. 61 (5).

*b.* That the genealogy of Cain breaks off, as it does, without being continued, like every other genealogy in Genesis, to tribes or persons existing in the writer's own day is a strong presumptive evidence that the race was extinct. Wellhausen intrepidly suggests that Cain is a collective name for the Kenites, Num. 24:22,

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\* Observe the form of statement in the Hebrew, which is significant, הָיָה בִּנְיָן "he was building a city" as a work in progress, not "he built it," as though it was completed by him.



p. 37 (10), who are thus traced up to the origin of mankind; a piece of historical criticism akin to that which finds an allusion to South America in "the gold of Parvaim," 2 Chron. 3:6, since Parvaim is the dual of Peru.

c. The allusion in 4:24 to v. 15 plainly shows that the narrative of Lamech belongs to the same record with that of Cain and Abel. Dillmann can find no escape from this but either by putting the cart before the horse and supposing that the allusion is the other way, so that the language of Lamech may have given rise to the story of Cain's murder, or else by ejecting the troublesome clause from the text as an addition by R. It is said without further explanation, p. 60 (6), that "a study of the different senses in which **יָקַם שְׁבַעֲתַיִם** is used in these passages, serves really to support the idea of different authorship." The different senses amount to this, that Cain was to be avenged by the Lord; Lamech boasts that he will be avenged in a higher measure by weapons that he carries himself. But how this supports diversity of authorship remains to be shown. The appeal to Budde, p. 60, *note*, means just this, that if he is suffered to change the text and convert the passive into an active verb, he can thereby render the reference to v. 15 inappropriate.

### 3. The Critical Partition.

#### 1) THE LANGUAGE OF P.

It is intimated (p. 33) that the whole of ch. 5 except a few words is characteristic of P. Precisely the contrary is the fact, as any one can see who approaches the subject without bias and with no hypothesis to support. There is no reason for connecting this chapter with P any more than with J, or for supposing that this genealogy ever formed a part of the document P before it was included in the Book of Genesis.

1. It is linked to the same extent and in precisely the same manner with P and with J. After the opening title, which will be considered apart, 5:1-3 borrows the language of 1:26-28 P; 5:29 that of 3:17 J. The genealogy is traced from Adam to Noah and his three sons, all of whom are alike named in P and in J. "Called his" or "their name," 5:2,3,29, corresponds with 4:25,26 J; **קָרָא**\* as a verb comparatively rare, 5:5 as 3:22 J; "walked with God," 5:22, coincides with 6:9 P. Beyond these express allusions to and coincidences with P and J alike, there is nothing to ally it with either. The critics say that 5:29 is an insertion by R. They do so simply because their hypothesis requires it and for no other reason. There is precisely the same ground for saying that R inserted 5:1,2 and modified 5:3. Both passages stand on the same footing, and should be dealt with in the same way. The natural inference from the facts of the case is that the writer of Genesis had before him an old genealogical register from which he extracted the

\* Found also Gen. 11:12,14; 25:7 in a genealogy or a statement extracted from a genealogy, and besides in the Hexateuch only Ex. 1:16 E, 33:20 J, Num. 21:8,9 E, Lev. 18:5 (Dillmann doubtful whether P or J), 25:35 (Dillmann P): Kayser denies that either is from P.

statements of this chapter (as subsequently 11:10-26), and in doing so he inserted these allusions to what he had already written.

2. In this way the peculiarity of the title of ch. 5 finds its most satisfactory explanation. "This is *the book* of the generations of Adam." This form of expression does not recur again. In drawing from the beginning of this old volume, its exact title is retained. And the remaining titles of Genesis, which, as we have seen, occur in P and in J connections alike, are framed upon this model; only, as they were not separate books, they are not so called, but simply "these are the generations," etc.

3. The form of the pre-Abrahamic history is thus best accounted for. This ancient genealogical history supplies the framework, and the narrative is inserted between its links. The line of descent is traced regularly to Noah when the departure from analogy in naming three sons, 5:32, instead of one, and arresting the genealogy, imply that an important epoch has been reached. The narrative of the deluge is then inserted (including the time of its occurrence, 7:6,11), after which the unfinished term in the genealogy is completed, 9:28,29, in language identical with ch. 5.

Ch. 5 certainly does not support the current critical hypothesis. So far as it indicates anything, it throws its weight in favor of the still older hypothesis of Vitringa.

## 2) THE LANGUAGE OF J.

The numbers are those of p. 32.

(1) הָאָדָם, see (13), (37) of previous section. "J employs sparingly proper names." Yet J names Adam, 4:25; Eve, 4:1, 3:20 (arbitrarily assigned to R); Cain and Abel (cf. in P 5:4); Cain's descendants, Seth, Enosh, Noah, Shem, Ham, Japheth, Nimrod, and many others in ch. 10; Terah, Abram, Nahor, Sarai, Milcāh, Iscāh, Hagar, Keturah and her children, etc., etc.; and the sacred name Jehovah, while P has the common noun Elohīm.

(2) יָרַע as a euphemism four times in J, twice in J<sup>1</sup>, three times in P. There is no difference in the case that affects the meaning of the word.

(3) יָכַף in the sense of *again* is referred to J or E, except in Lev. 26:18 P<sup>1</sup>.

(4) רָעָה *keep sheep*, (5) עֲבַר הָאָרְמָה *till the ground, dig wells* (used by J in but one narrative, 26:19,21,22,32), *water flocks*, are "frequent in J, but not found in P." It is to be presumed that he had heard of such things, and knew the proper words for them, but had no occasion to speak of them. This also applies to (9) רִבֵּץ,

(10) זָעַק (once in P), (12) כָּח, (14) אָהֵל, (23) נָחַם.

(6) מִנְחָה is used by J of three things, viz., the offering of Cain and Abel, 4:3,4,5; Jacob's present to Esau, 33:10; his present to the governor of Egypt, 43:11,15,26,26. P uses the word freely when he has occasion for it, Ex. 29:41, etc.

(7) שָׁעָה Gen. 4:4,5 J; Ex. 5:9 E; nowhere else in Hexateuch.

(8) חִירָה mostly referred to J or E. On Josh 7:1 Dillmann says, "This is a fragment from P as is shown by Josh. 22:20 P, only instead of 'וַיֹּהֲרֵ קֶצֶף' *he must have said*, 'וַיֹּהֲרֵ אֶף,' which would suit the hypothesis better.

(10) זָעַק commonly referred to E; but how this is accomplished may be illustrated from Ex. 14:15, where a clause is cut out of a verse belonging to P solely and avowedly because it contains זָעַק.

(11) פָּצָה occurs but once besides in J.

(13) יָלַד "to beget," for which P uses הוֹלִיד. יָלַד is limited to J only by critical

legerdemain. Gen. 22:23 is referred to J notwithstanding the allusion by P in 25:20, which makes it necessary to assume that P had stated the same thing in some other passage now lost; this also carries with it 22:20, whose allusion to 11:29 requires the latter to be torn from its connection and referred to J. In 25:3 יִלֵּךְ alternates with וַיֵּלֶךְ, which is made a criterion of P in ch. 10, cf. also 46:9 sqq.; Ex. 6:15 sqq.

Nos. 14-22 occur in J<sup>1</sup>, who is by the hypothesis a distinct writer from J, and cannot therefore be adduced in evidence of his diction. (18) הָאֵלֹהִים, (19) פָּצַע, (21) חֲבוּרָה do not occur in J at all. The same is probably true of (16) הָוָה אֱמִי, since in 10:21 הָוָה belongs to a different clause from אֱמִי; 11:29, 22:21 הָוָה does

not occur, and the reference of 19:37,38 is doubtful; Kautzsch at least ascribes these verses to R. (15) כָּנֹךְ, (17) שֵׁם אֲחִיו, (22) חָלַל meaning to be the first, occur but once in J. (20) יָלַךְ (noun) with the exception of 44:20, occurs in but one narrative in J, 32:23; 33:1-14, which seems best accounted for by supposing that this word belonged to that story in its oral or written form, and is here accordingly retained.

(24) The only word under this number not before remarked upon is תְּשׁוּקָה, occurring but twice in the Hexateuch, Gen. 3:6; 4:7, and each time according to Wellhausen, Budde, Kuenen and Kittel by a different writer, p. 62.

### 3) SUBDIVISION OF THE DOCUMENTS.

It is a curious circumstance that, while Dillmann and Wellhausen agree that 4:1b-15 (or 16) J and vs. 1a,16(or 17)-24 J<sup>1</sup> must be from different writers, and that one of these wrote chs. 2, 3, they are at strife as to which it was. Dillmann adduces what he considers clear proofs from diction and style that chs. 2, 3 belong to J. Wellhausen and those who follow him in this particular set these aside without ceremony and attribute these chapters to J<sup>1</sup>. Dillmann, with some hesitation, it is true, identifies J<sup>1</sup> with E; others make them quite distinct. To these indications of the inconclusiveness of critical arguments in the view of the critics themselves add the intimation, p. 59, that it may be considered an open question "whether J<sup>1</sup> is to be taken as the original, J<sup>2</sup> being an interpolation; or J<sup>2</sup> is the real J, J<sup>1</sup> having been incorporated," that is to say, whether the sections of J<sup>1</sup> or those assigned to J<sup>2</sup> are by the same hand as those attributed to J in the rest of Genesis. If this is not the meaning, the remark would seem to be superfluous. That it was so intended appears to be implied p. 32 (1), where J<sup>2</sup> is apparently distinguished from J, although they are commonly identified. Such admissions leave one in doubt of the infallibility of the critical sense in some other cases.

The discovery of successive strata in each document severally, announced by Wellhausen, and in which he has been eagerly followed since, is simply a return to the principles and methods of the fragmentary hypothesis. Their adoption can only result in an indefinite disintegration of the documents and a destruction of the entire basis on which their existence is supposed to rest, as appears most plainly in the results already reached respecting the priestly legislation. It is the inevitable nemesis of the hypothesis reacting upon itself. The very principles and methods which are employed in dividing the Pentateuch into different documents, can be applied with like success and quite as much cogency in the division and subdivision of each of the documents to any assignable extent.

## 4) DUPLICATE STATEMENTS.

Dillmann thinks that the composite character of the Book of Genesis is shown more plainly in the duplicate mention of the birth of Seth and Enosh, 4:25, 26; 5:3-6, than anywhere else. Why should the same writer thus repeat himself?

The critics see in 4:25,26 the beginning of a genealogy by J, to which 5:29 also belonged. It is held, therefore, that J must have given the line of descent from Adam to Noah in full, parallel to that by P in ch.5; but that R, while omitting the greater portion as needless repetition, saw fit to retain these three verses because of the additional information which they convey. Ch. 5:29 was inserted from J in the body of P's genealogy, but 4:25,26 R saw fit to preserve distinct. Now it is difficult to see why the same motive, be it what it might, which determined R not to blend 4:25,26 with the corresponding verses of ch. 5, as he had done 5:29, might not be similarly influential with the original writer. Some reasons for such a separate statement naturally offer themselves.

1. One arises out of the original plan of the Book of Genesis and its division into successive sections, each in a manner complete in itself and introduced by its own special title, "these are the generations," etc. This division is unfortunately obscured to the common reader by the familiar division into chapters. The preceding section, 2:4-ch. 4, had recorded a constant descent from bad to worse, the sin of our first parents, their expulsion from paradise, the murder of Abel, Cain's descendants reaching in Lamech the climax of boastful and unrestrained violence. That the section might not be suffered to end in unrelieved gloom, a brighter outlook is added at the close, precisely as in 6:8. Seth is substituted for Abel whom Cain slew, and instead of piety perishing with murdered Abel it reaches a new development in the days of Enosh.

2. These closing verses are further necessary to the proper understanding of ch. 5. While the insertion of these statements in that chapter would have been confusing and would have marred its symmetry, it was important to set 5:3 in its true light in relation to 5:1,2, as is done by 4:25, and to indicate the character of the race of Seth in contrast with the ungodly race of Cain, as is done by 4:26.

The whole bears evidence of adaptation and careful thought, and is suggestive of one author, not the combination of separate compositions prepared with no reference to each other.

A further indication of the same sort, implying the original unity of these chapters, is their correspondence with the general plan of Genesis in respect to genealogies. Uniformly the divergent lines are first traced before proceeding with the principal line of descent leading to the chosen people. Ch. 10 the various nations of mankind sprung from the three sons of Noah, then 11:10 sqq. the line from Shem to Abram. Nahor's descendants 22:20 sqq., those of Keturah 25:1 sqq., and of Ishmael verses 12 sqq., before those of Isaac verses 19 sqq. Those of Esau 36:1 sqq. before those of Jacob 37:2 sqq. In like manner the

degenerate and God-forsaken race of Cain is traced 4:17 sqq. before proceeding with that of Seth ch. 5. Is this conformity with the constant plan of the book the accidental result of the junction of two documents of diverse character, independently prepared with no reference to each other?

#### IV. SECTION 3.—GEN. 6:1-9:29.

The divisive hypothesis is now getting into deeper waters, of which the narrative of the deluge is at once a symbol and an occasion. Hitherto it has had an ostensible ground for partition in distinct sections determined either by the alternation of divine names or by the change of subject or by both combined. Now this resource forsakes it, and it must venture on the open sea, destitute of chart or compass. And this is but a premonition of the reefs and shallows, cross-currents and whirlpools, fogs and storms, and every peril known to navigators, which must be encountered in its hazardous course. If the history of literature affords an ampler illustration of "confusion worse confounded" than the hopelessly inextricable medley in which the critics find themselves in their attempts to struggle through the three middle books of the Pentateuch, and that acquisition of doubtful value to themselves which they have recently annexed to form a Hexateuch, the Book of Joshua, it has never yet been discovered.

We are told, p. 39, that "this section contains two entirely distinct accounts of the deluge," and pp. 46 sqq., that these accounts differ irreconcilably in several respects. Let us inquire into the correctness of these statements.

##### 1. No Duplicate Account of the Deluge.

It is alleged, p. 46, that "the material is throughout duplicated." But this is clearly a mistake. The narrative contains no superfluous repetition. The idea that it does arises from confounding things which differ, or from overlooking reasons which naturally led in the plan of the writer to a re-statement in a different connection of certain particulars which, in an event so extraordinary, so graphically related and upon the details of which the writer dwells with such evident interest, is surely not surprising.

Apparently the most plausible instance meets us at the outset. Gen. 6:5-8 Jehovah sees the wickedness of men and resolves to destroy them all except Noah; whereupon follow verses 9-13, in which Elohim sees the wickedness of men and announces to Noah his purpose to destroy them. Is not here a clear case in which there is first a statement by J, then a repetition of the very same statement by P? Not at all; vs. 6,7 declare the divine purpose, verse 13 the announcement of this purpose to Noah, which is quite distinct and carries the narrative forward a step further. Observe also that in the scheme of the book a new section begins 6:9. In order to the completeness of this section it is introduced with a statement of the situation. The sons of Noah are named afresh,

6:10; cf. 5:32; but no one suspects a difference of writer on this account; see a like summary of previous statements for the same reason 25:19,20; so the wickedness of men in the sight of God is re-stated in a few words 6:11,12, as preliminary to the declaration of his purpose.

Elohim directs Noah to build an ark for the preservation of himself and every species of living things, which Noah does, 6:14-22. Jehovah then bids Noah to enter the ark, taking some of all living creatures with him; which Noah does, 7:1-5. These paragraphs plainly belong together, each incomplete without the other. By assigning the former to P and the latter to J, J is made to assume the existence of the ark, though he has said nothing of its being built; and P records the construction of the ark, but after it is finished God never tells him to enter it. The consequence is that the critics have no sooner sundered these paragraphs than, in order to restore the connection, they are straightway obliged to assume that J must have written something just like 6:14-22, and P something just like 7:1-5, only R did not think proper to preserve it. He made up his account with a paragraph from P and another from J, which though written quite independently, dovetail precisely as if written continuously.

Ch. 7:7-9 records Noah's entry into the ark with his family and some of all living things; then in vs. 13-16 their entry into the ark is mentioned again. The critics say that the same identical thing is here stated first by J, then by P. But in assigning vs. 7-9 to J they violate their own criteria in almost every particular. "Noah and his sons and his wife and his sons' wives with him" (not "all his house" as 7:1), רמש "creeping," "two and two" (no mention of "seven and seven" as 7:2), "male and female," and "Elohim" are all declared to be marks of P. It is a sheer subterfuge to say with Dillmann that R has here freely modified the text "in order to compose the differences as far as possible." Why he should be concerned just here to alter forms of expression which he retains without change elsewhere, or to reconcile differences which no pains are taken to remove in other places, does not appear. And this is particularly insupposable in the present instance; for the only reason why R can be imagined to have used the statements of both documents, instead of only one, as in other cases, is that he might preserve what was peculiar in each. And yet we are told that he has himself neutralized the very end he had in view by conforming one to the other. The fact is that there is no indication of two documents or of a duplicate narrative here at all, any more than there is in the twofold statement of the time of the flood 7:6,11, where no one suspects a difference of writers. Precisely as the date of the flood is first given generally, the year only being named, and then more specifically by the month and the day, so the entry into the ark is first stated in general terms, and then "the selfsame day" on which it took place is accurately fixed. And if the criteria of the critics are of any worth, there was but one writer in the case.

From 7:11 to 8:20 the name Jehovah occurs but once, viz., 7:16*b*, which is for this reason held to belong to J. With this sole exception there is not throughout the passage just indicated a word or a phrase that is elsewhere claimed as characteristic of J,\* and the assigning of any portion of it to that document is purely arbitrary and without justification on the ground of diction, style, theology or anything else. Hupfeld succeeded in picking out a clause here and a clause there from the sentences to which they belonged, and thus made a shift to preserve the continuity of J. But he had no warrant for so doing except, as Delitzsch fitly phrases it, "the omnipotence resident in the ink of a German scholar."

Ch. 7:12 is sundered from its connection and given to J because of its correspondence with v. 4. Yet גשם *rain*, v. 12, is quite different from מטר, v. 4, and nowhere occurs in J, though rain is repeatedly mentioned. It is found but once in the Hexateuch, Lev. 26:4, about whose authorship the critics are not agreed. The number "forty" surely is not peculiar to J. P is not precluded from saying that it rained forty days and nights, because J had said that it would do so, whether this be supposed to be the historical fact or merely the current belief. P speaks elsewhere of periods of forty days and forty years, Lev. 12:2,4; Num. 13:25; 14:34. Just here the perplexity of the critics in respect to 7:17*a* is instructive. "The flood was forty days upon the earth" is given entire by Dillmann to J, by Kuenen to R, and with the exception of the words "forty days," by Kautzsch and Socin to P; also by Hupfeld to P without exception, only the "forty days" must be understood differently from J in 7:4. All is with the design of bringing J and P into conflict regarding the duration of the flood; so that is effected, they are not particular about the mode of accomplishing it.

The attempt to set v. 12 in contrast with v. 11*b*, as though something belonging to a different order of things was intended, cannot be called successful. The opening of the windows of heaven cannot by possibility suggest anything but deluging rains, even to those who would fasten upon the sacred writer the conception of a supernal ocean and literal flood-gates in the sky, and this conclusion is further rendered necessary by the Hebrew phrase, v. 12. The Waw Consec. future indicates that the rain was not a separate and independent thing, but the sequence of opening the windows of heaven.

For similar reasons it is equally arbitrary and unwarranted to sunder the first two clauses of 8:2 from the last clause, assigning the former to P and the latter to J.

\* The only plausible instance that can be adduced is 7:22, "in whose nostrils was the breath of the spirit of life," compared with 2:7 J, where, however, the reference is to man alone and the phrase is "breath of life." It equally stands in relation to 6:17 and 7:15 P, where the reference is to the lower animals as well, and the phrase is "spirit of life"; a relation which the critics acknowledge, when they seek to expunge רוּחַ *spirit* from 7:22 by ascribing it to R. קִיּוֹן 7:23, which occurs once in J 7:4, once in D, Deut. 11:6, and nowhere else in the Bible, is not to the point. Nor is כִּוּזָּה 7:23, which besides 6:7 and 7:4 is to be found only Ex. 32:32,33, in J, and occurs in P, Num. 5:23. Nor פִּלְלוֹן 8:6, which is found besides in the Hexateuch only in Gen. 26:8 J, and Josh. 2:15,18,21, where the critics are uncertain whether it belongs to J or E.

A like severance is made of clauses from their connection in respect to the increase of the waters, 7:17b, the perishing of all terrestrial life, 7:22,23, the diminution of the waters, 8:3a, and the drying of the ground, 8:13b. The plea in each case is that there are parallel statements conveying substantially the same thought, which cannot be referred to a single writer, who would not express himself so pleonastically. They must accordingly be regarded as indicating distinct documents. But

1. If R felt it important to emphasize the momentous character of the successive stages of the flood by these repeated statements, why may not the original writer have dwelt upon them in like manner for a similar reason?

2. After the partition is made, there still remain repetitions in each document severally, so that if this is a valid ground for division, the partition should be carried further still. The increase of the waters is stated four times with some variations in form and in the accompanying circumstances, 7:17-20; the death of all that lived upon the earth, three times, vs. 21-23; the subsidence of the waters, four times, 8:1,3,5; the drying of the surface of the ground, three times, vs. 13,14. The writer in each case recurs to the same thing again and again to note its advance, or to give expression to his sense of its extraordinary character.

3. Like repetitions abound in other cases in which no one imagines that they are traceable to a diversity of documents; thus to draw illustrations only from the narrative of the flood, see 6:11,12; 7:14-16\*; 5:32, 6:10, 10:1; 9:9,11; 9:12-17.

The paragraph relating to Noah's sending out the birds, 8:8-12, is quite devoid of any critical marks allying it to one or other of the documents, as is apparent from the history of its treatment. From Astruc and Eichhorn to the supplementary critics Tuch and Knobel, it was almost uniformly assigned to P. Stähelin is uncertain about it. Reuss regards it as the sole surviving remnant of a third account of the flood distinct from the other two. Hupfeld gives 8:7, the raven, to J and vs. 8-12, the dove, to P. Friedreich Delitzsch, on the other hand, gives the raven to P and the dove to J. Kayser, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Dillmann, and others, assign the whole to J, in which they were preceded by the eccentric Ilgen. The motive which at present inclines the majority to J appears to be twofold. Such a graphic incident is thought to befit the more "picturesque" narrator, and this is the most striking parallel with the cuneiform tablets, with which J is held to stand in the closer relation. Both an argument and an inference are supplied from these two points of view of a somewhat circular nature. It is assigned to J because he is picturesque and allied to the tablets; and being so assigned proves him to be picturesque and allied to the tablets. One cannot but feel that, *mutatis mutandis*, he might with equal ease have been called "rigid

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\* Dillmann lays bare the secret of the whole matter, when he says on Gen. 7:16: "It is as though the author, moved by the momentous character of the day, could not do enough to satisfy himself in the detailed portraiture of the transaction."



and stereotyped " on account of his " regular formulas " and " repetition " of like phrases, thus: " and he sent forth the raven," v. 7; " and he sent forth the dove," v. 8; " and he stayed yet other seven days and sent forth the dove," vs. 10,12; " waters were abated from off the face of the ground," vs. 8,11, cf. v. 9; " to him into the ark," v. 9 *bis*; " going and returning " in Hebrew vs. 3,7, cf. v. 5.

The direction to leave the ark and the actual going forth from it, 8:15-19, are from P. J makes no mention of either. It is assumed that he must have recorded both, but R thought P's statement sufficient and hence did not preserve that of J along with it. This seems plausible. But why then was it worth while to retain both accounts of the entry into the ark, even while modifying them into almost precise conformity with one another? Is it not plain here again that the repetition in the former instance was not the inconsiderate copying of the same statement from two distinct sources, but was with the view of emphasizing the exactness with which the flood came upon the very day of the entry into the ark? There was no such emphasis connected with the moment of leaving it, and we find no repetition.

Noah's sacrifice, 8:20-22 J, and God's covenant with him, 9:1-17 P, are not parallel accounts of the same transaction, as the critics claim, but the former is preliminary to the latter. First comes the offering of the sacrifice, Jehovah's acceptance of it and his purpose not to destroy the earth again for the sin of man. This purpose is then communicated to Noah in the form of a blessing and a covenant with an instituted sign.

The examination of the narrative of the flood thus shows that so far from everything being duplicated, nothing is duplicated from first to last except the entry into the ark, and that for a special reason not suggestive of two documents, but excluding them. Moreover, when all has been assigned to J, that can with any reason be given him, this does not yield a continuous parallel record of the entire transaction. With the exception of a single clause in 7:16, it is limited to two brief paragraphs at the beginning, 6:1-8; 7:1-5, and one at the end, 8:20-22. The documentary character of J finds no support here. If there were two writers, it would seem as though J could only have made some short supplementary additions to the larger and fuller narrative of P.

But here the documentary critics retort that the supplementary hypothesis will not account for the twofold statement of the entry into the ark. They have a Redactor ready at hand who might have copied the same thing into his narrative from two different sources, and in copying might have assimilated one to the other, senseless as such a proceeding would be; but who would ever undertake to supplement a treatise that he was editing, by adding of his own motion what was already there, and that in almost identical terms, and in doing so adopt the words and phrases of the book itself instead of those which he was accustomed to employ

in every other addition made by him? Each class of critics seems to be in the right as against the other; and themselves being judges, neither form of the hypothesis is free from difficulties in this portion of Genesis.

## 2. No Discrepancies.

Ch. 6:1-4 is said (p. 60) to be in conflict with all that follows in two respects, (1) in limiting human life thenceforth to 120 years, (2) in ignoring the flood; the Nephilim are here spoken of, and as the Nephilim were still in existence Num. 13:33, there could in the view of the author of this passage have been no deluge in which all mankind perished with the exception of a single family. It is accordingly claimed that these verses are not properly a part of J, but have been introduced into it from J<sup>1</sup>, an older document which knows nothing of a deluge. They are quite foreign to the context in which they are found, and contain a mythical account of the origin of the Nephilim, a gigantic race among the Canaanites, who are here represented as having sprung from the intermarriage of angels with the daughters of men. Nothing could well be more baseless and chimerical.

1. It is observable that the argument of diversity is not here rested in any measure upon differences of diction and style. Budde (*Biblische Urgeschichte*, p. 6) points out in detail the exact conformity of 6:1,2 to the language of J elsewhere.

2. The author or compiler of Genesis certainly could not intentionally have so stultified himself, as this view of the passage supposes, by inserting that as introductory to the narrative of the flood which by its very terms precludes its existence. Could he so grossly have mistaken its meaning? or is it not possible that modern critics may put a wrong interpretation on these isolated verses?

3. This most extraordinary conclusion is built on very slender premises. Its sole support is the application of the same term, "Nephilim," to antediluvians and to Canaanites. The word is obscure in its meaning and its derivation. The LXX. and Jerome translate it "giants." It is more probably an appellative than a gentile noun. It does not occur again in the narrative of the conquest, but only in the report of the spies, whose excited imagination could best express their impression of these men of great stature and powerful frames by saying that they were the old giants revived; but with no more thought of denying the fact of the deluge than one who might call an intense old foggy an antediluvian. Or if Nephilim was an actual national name, is sameness of name a sure argument of identity? May we not call the American aborigines Indians without involving ourselves in the old error of Columbus? or speak of Trojans in the State of New York without discrediting the fall of ancient Troy? or have the exploits of Jack the giant-killer anything to do with the giants of the ancient Greek mythology?

4. Whatever interpretation be put upon doubtful expressions in Gen. 6:3, it plainly intimates the divine purpose to inflict some penalty affecting the life of the whole human race. "His days shall be 120 years," if spoken of the generation then living would mean that they should not survive that limit; if of successive generations of men, that this should henceforth be the term of human life. The former is demanded by the context. The latter is preferred by critics whose uniform usage is to interpret at variance with the context, if possible. It is here absolutely without support. There is no suggestion anywhere that the duration of human life was ever fixed at 120 years. It is contradicted by all that is narrated of the ages of the patriarchs.\*

The alleged discrepancy in regard to the duration of the deluge, p. 46, as though J made it 60 or 100 days and P a year, is a pure figment.

1. All the seeming basis for this misrepresentation has been destroyed by the demonstration already given that there are not two distinct accounts of the deluge.

2. But even allowing the arbitrary and indefensible partition made by the critics, their inference does not follow. The trick is so transparent that it should impose upon no one. It is simply parading a part as though it were the whole. "At the end of forty days Noah opened the window of the ark," 8:6. Forty days from what? The critics are in doubt, p. 47, note, whether to reckon from the day that the forty days' rain began or that it ended. What then is to be thought of the intelligence of R in compiling this narrative? As this verse stands, it is not possible to reckon otherwise than from the 1st day of the 10th month, 8:5. Adding to this the three periods of seven days, it appears that the dove was sent out for the last time on the 1st day of the 12th month. After another month Noah removes the covering of the ark. And in a month and twenty-seven days more he leaves the ark entirely. All is thus in perfect harmony.

3. The inference of the critics is besides quite unfounded upon their own principles. By their own concession J is not complete. His genealogy from Adam to Noah is only preserved in part. His account of building the ark and of Noah's leaving it have been omitted, R not judging it necessary to repeat from J what he had already inserted from P. Whence then this sudden confidence that no numbers originally in J have been omitted, notwithstanding the fact that such an assumption gives to his statements a meaning that they cannot now have, sets them in opposition to otherwise uncontradicted statements of P, and convicts R of incapacity or worse?

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\* The question whether the sons of God in 6:2,4 were angels (p. 49) has nothing to do with the critical partition of the passage and cannot here be discussed. No one need be surprised at any conceit of a certain class of interpreters. It is not strange that Josephus should have imported into this passage ideas borrowed from the Greek mythology. But it is to my mind utterly incomprehensible how judicious, not to say reverent, interpreters, could for one moment countenance an opinion so utterly without warrant or analogy in any part of Scripture, so unmeaning and so baseless.

The general direction, 6:19 P, to take a pair of each kind of animals, is made more specific when the time arrives to enter the ark, clean beasts by sevens, the unclean by twos, 7:2 J. But J also relapses into the general form of statement, 7:9; or if the critics prefer, R does so, which amounts to the same thing, as by the hypothesis he had J's previous statement before him. There is no more discrepancy here than between 7:6 and 11.

Ch. 7:10 the flood came seven days not after Noah entered the ark, but after the announcement, 7:1-4; so there is no conflict with 7:13.

The differences alleged, p. 48, "as to the form of the ark" and "the general conception of the flood" are foisted upon the text, not found in it.

We find on p. 61 a precious piece of historical and literary criticism in relation to 9:20-27. An ancient prophecy, in which the names of Shem, Japheth and Canaan appear, is there recorded, together with the circumstances under which it was delivered. The critics think the circumstances improbable; therefore they are untrue. Noah is here "a husbandman, a rôle quite distinct from that of a navigator," which he sustains elsewhere; as if he should have been cultivating the soil during the flood, or should continue to sail about in the ark after the flood was over. They can see no reason why sentence should have been pronounced upon Canaan for the shameful deed of his father; therefore there was no reason; therefore it was not done. As though it were not the keenest of inflictions upon a father to be punished in his child; and as though the law of heredity, the propagation of character and the perpetuation of the evil consequences of transgression generation after generation were not among the most patent and familiar facts, of which the beastliness of the Canaanites and their merited doom afford a signal illustration. And now, if they may change the text of the narrative on the pretext of conforming it with the prophecy, and so make Shem, Japheth and Canaan the three sons of Noah, they can thus bring it into conflict with every other statement in the history; therefore this has been extracted from a document J<sup>1</sup> at variance with both J and P. Or if they may reverse the process, and insert Ham instead of Canaan in the prophecy, they can show that it was not fulfilled. Or if they may put a belittling interpretation upon the prophecy, they can restrict it to a "narrow" range. By this time they have shown that something is absurd. They think that it is this venerable prophecy, whose profound and far-reaching meaning, whose appropriateness in a book intended for Israel about to enter on the conquest of Canaan, and whose exact fulfillment have been universally recognized. Most persons will think that the absurdity is in their treatment of the passage.

## 3. The Critical Partition.

## 1) THE LANGUAGE OF P.

Words already considered need not be repeated here.

6:9, (2) תמים of character, only once beside, viz., 17:1 P (often in ritual law of animal "without blemish"); in E, Josh. 24:14; cognate word תם in J, Gen. 25:27. (3) ברתיו, cf. ברור, Gen. 7:1 J, nowhere else in Hex. with prep. ב; plur. in P to denote perpetuity of covenant with Noah, Gen. 9:12; circumcision, 17:12, and institutions in ritual law. (4) Walk with God ("free and confidential" intercourse, such as, p. 30, is ascribed to J in contrast with P), only beside 5:22,24 P; elsewhere "walk before God," 17:1 P; 24:40 J; 48:15 E.

6:11,12, (2) כל בשר only in flood and legislation. (3) שחת used by P, 6:13, in allusion to v. 12, also repeatedly in J: מורה in J, but also in P, Num. 5:23.

6:14,15, (1) גפר and (2) כפר only here; (3) קינור in Hex. only here and in description of articles in tabernacle.

6:16 (1) צרה only here in this sense; חלון, 8:6, assigned to J without reason.

6:17, ואני הנני, but twice besides in Hex., 9:9; Ex. 14:17; אני also repeatedly in J; אנכי, 7:4 J, but also 28:4 P. (2) מי מכול, Gen. 7:7 J; 9:11 P. (5) גוע in flood, death of patriarchs, and a few other cases; mostly with מות to make the statement more full and emphatic. Num. 20:3b is assigned to P on the ground of גוע alone, though vs. 3a,4,5 are from E. No record of a death in all the Hex. is assigned to J, except Gen. 11:28; 38:12; Ex. 2:23. מות is used alike by P, J and E.

6:18, (1) הקים ברית, also in J, Lev. 26:9 (so Dillmann), only of God's covenant with Noah, 9:9,11,17, and the patriarchs, 17:7,19,21; Ex. 6:4, with special reference to their perpetuity. כרת ברית, the ordinary phrase for contracting a covenant, suggestive of accompanying sacrificial rites, in all other covenants whether between men, Gen. 21:27,32, or of God with men, Ex. 24:8; 34:27; once only of God's covenant with Abram, Gen. 15:18, with allusion to the formalities, vs. 9:10. In Deut., כרת constantly of God's covenant then made with Israel, 4:23; 5:2,3, etc.; הקים of that with their fathers, 8:18; 29:11-13. In Ezek. 16:60,62

הקים of God's ancient and irrevocable covenant with Israel, cf. 2 Kgs. 23:3,24. נתן ברית of a covenant divinely granted, Gen. 9:12; 17:2; Num. 25:12. (2) the expression "thou and thy sons," etc. So in 7:7 J, or by an evasion referred to E.

6:22, (2) עשה כן emphatic formula, also Ex. 7:8, besides only in ritual law; once Ex. 12:28 in J connection though referred arbitrarily to P. (3) צוה אהו twice besides in P, 7:16; 21:4; in J, Ex. 34:4; צוהו twice in J, Gen. 7:5; Ex. 4:28; in P, Num. 20:9.

7:6, (1) the calculation, so in J connection, arbitrarily referred to P, 8:18; 25:20,26; 47:28, so also in E, Gen. 50:28; Josh. 24:29.

7:11, ארבות, 8:2, nowhere else in Hex.

7:13-16a, (1) עצם self-same Deut. 32:48 P, once in JE connection, Josh. 10:27, arbitrarily referred to Rd; in Hex. besides only in ritual contexts. (2) חיה wild beast, so J 2:20; also including domestic animals, P 1:30; 9:2,5; J 2:19.

7:18-21, (1) גבר here four times in P; in J, 49:26; E, Ex. 17:11; nowhere else in Hex.; all five of its derivatives in J or E. (2) מאד מאד, also in J, 30:43. (3) Is fifteen cubits P more of a "calculation" than seven days and forty days, J 7:4? see also J Gen. 38:24; Num. 14:33; 32:13. (7) ב prep., used distributively, so J, Ex. 10:15 (Wellhausen).

8:1,2a,3b-5. (3) שכן, Num. 17:20 P, nowhere else in Hex. (7) Calculations. Hupfeld's conjecture, *Quellen d. Gen.*, p. 16, note, that 8:4 belongs to J and only the date to P is instructive as to critical methods.

8:18a,14-19, (12) למשפחתיהם, with this form of suff. here only; למשפחתם arbitrarily referred to P, though the preceding genealogy is given to J, 10:20,31; למשפחתיו (suff. collective) in J, Num. 11:10.

9:1-3, (1) ויברך also in J, Gen. 30:30; 32:30; 39:5, etc. (4) מורא in Hex. only here and four times in Deut. (5) חת nowhere else in Hex. התה, Gen. 35:5, insertion by R from E. (8) ירק עשב, 1:30 P; ירק besides in Hex. only Ex. 10:15 (E, Dill.; J, Well.), Num. 22:4 J.

9:4-7, (1) legal phraseology, "require blood," in Hex. besides only Gen. 42:22 E; the prohibition of eating blood is in the writer's mind based upon sacrificial expiation, Lev. 17:10-14, and proves that in his view sacrifice already

existed, contrary to the repeated allegation, p. 38 (2), p. 50 (3), etc.

9:8-11, (4) You and your seed, also in J, 26:3; 28:18.

## 2) THE LANGUAGE OF J.

6:1-4. If this is from J<sup>1</sup>, it cannot be cited to show the diction of J. (3) בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים nowhere else in Hex. (3) מָוֶב in a physical sense, so in P, 1:4,12; Lev. 27:10 sqq.; Num. 36:6. (4) רֹדֶן only here. (5) נַפְלִים besides only Num. 13:33 E; not in J at all. (6) גְּבוּר only once in J, 10:8.

6:5-8, (3) רַק and (9) מִצָּא חֵן happen not to occur in P. (7) אֶל-לִבּוֹ in Hex. besides only 8:21. Alleged insertions by R are simply confessions that the facts do not correspond with the hypothesis.

7:1-5, (4) טָהוֹר, a technical word of ritual law, only in the narrative of the flood, 7:2,3, 8:20 (the verb once in E, 35:2), before the Mosaic period; there is no proof that it would have been esteemed an anachronism by P. (5) אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ (of animals) only 7:2 *lts*, but in vs. 3,9 וְנִקְבָּה זָכָר וְנִקְבָּה arbitrarily assigned to R. J has זָכָר, Ex. 13:12,15, cf. also 34:23, of which נִקְבָּה is the only correlative term. P not only uses אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ of persons, Ex. 35:29, but אִשָּׁה even of inanimate objects, as curtains, Ex. 26:3,5,6. (6) לִימִים Dill. adduces Ex. 8:19 J as a parallel use of ל.

8:2b,3a, (2) שׁוּב arbitrarily referred to J; in P, Lev. 14:39, etc.

8:6-12,13b, (2) קָלָל nowhere else in this sense; in P, Lev. 24:11 sqq.; חָסַר in P, Gen. 8:5; Ex. 16:18; in J, Gen. 18:28, nowhere else in Hex. except three times in Deut. (4) מְנוּחַ and חוּל not elsewhere in Hex. (6) מְכַסֶּה in P, Ex. 26:14, etc., the covering does not exclude a door in the side.

8:20-22, (1) מְנוּחַ and (3) עֵלָה are always associated with יְהוָה, not with אֱלֹהִים, unless defined as Gen. 22:1 sqq., הָאֱלֹהִים, and 46:1, "the God of his father Isaac." רִיחַ נִיחַח, a technical expression of the ritual law (P), is here used by J. (12) כָּל-חַי only here in J (8:20 is referred to R); but also in P, 6:19, differing only in the generic article. (13) קֵר, קִיץ, חֹרֶף only here in Hex. (14) חָם in Hex. besides only 18:1.

9:18-21, (2) נִפְצָה כָּל הָאָרֶץ, for which P is said to have נִפְרְדוּ הַגּוֹיִם בָּאָרֶץ, but Dillmann admits that they have not precisely the same sense. (6) שָׂכַר here in J<sup>1</sup>, in Hex. besides only 43:34; cognate noun in P, Lev. 10:9; Num. 6:3.

9:22-27, (1) בְּחוּץ here in J<sup>1</sup>, only once in J, 24:31; P has the same noun without a prep. חוּץ Lev. 18:9, or with a different prep., מִחוּץ, Gen. 6:14, etc. (2) שְׂמָלָה not in P. (3) אַחֲרָנִית here in J<sup>1</sup>; nowhere else in Hex.

## V. SECTION 4.—GEN. 10:1-12:5.

### 1. No Discrepancies.

That Havilah and Sheba occur both (10:7) among the descendants of Ham and (vs. 28,29) of Shem is readily explained either as suggested, p. 55 (3), there may have been two tribes of each name, or the tribes may have been of mixed origin, partly of one race, partly of another; cf. Dedan, 10:7, 25:3; Lud, 10:13,22; Uz, 10:23, 22:21, 36:28; Asshur, 10:22, was descended from Shem; Asshurim, 25:3, from Abraham by Keturah. It is quite incredible that in the intention of the author, this obscure Arabian tribe is to be identified with the famous Assyrian empire.

"The difficulty in passing from ch. 10 to ch. 11," p. 56 (6), is purely fanciful. Before parting finally with the three sons of Noah the writer traces their descend-

ants in the different nations of mankind with their various languages, ch. 10. He then resumes the thread of his history in ch. 11, and explains how the first impulse was given to the dispersion of men and the division of languages. It is precisely as any historian would do who is not a mere annalist.

There is not the slightest ground in the text for the representation (p. 56) that "vast multitudes" were engaged in building the tower and that Jehovah was "alarmed" in consequence, or that there were only "twenty families." "Cush begat Nimrod," 10:8; but this need not indicate a single generation any more than when Noah's grandson Canaan begat several tribes, vs. 15-18, or when (Mt. 1:1) Jesus Christ is called the son of David and David the son of Abraham. How this narrative conflicts with the account of the deluge, it is impossible to see.

## 2. The Critical Partition.

The suspicion was early expressed that the episode respecting Nimrod (vs. 8-12) did not belong originally to ch. 10, for no reason apparently but its parenthetic character. Critics were generally agreed that the rest of the chapter was a unit; and as there was no apparent ground for attaching it to one document rather than the other, it was by some referred to P, and by others to J. Wellhausen compromised the matter by assuming that בְּנֵי *the sons of*, vs. 2-4, etc., was a sign of P, and יָלַךְ, vs. 8, 13, 15, etc., of J, and divided the chapter on that basis, in spite of the fact that these are both combined in 25:3, 4, which is confessedly from a single source.

### 1) THE LANGUAGE OF P.

Words before explained will not be repeated.

יִצְחָק 10:1, as J<sup>1</sup> 4:18; יָלַךְ 4:26, 10:21 J, as P 35:26, 36:5 (so Dill.), 46:22, 27; בְּנוֹיָהֶם only in this chapter. פָּרַךְ 10:5, but J 18:14; 25:23; 30:40; alleged to be its equivalent in J 10:25, found only here in Hex. אִיִּים only here in Hex. אִוִּיר כְּשִׁירִים "not found in J" simply because it is cut out of a J context, 11:28; 15:7, and assigned to R. רָכֹשׁ clause cut out of E

context, 31:18, and assigned to P on account of this word, in 14:11, 12, 13, 21 in E (Dill.); מִקְנֶה said to be its equivalent in JE is found in P, 34:5, 23; 36:6, 7; 46:6. The words and phrases of the genealogy, 11:10-28, show it to be the continuation of that in ch. 5, but contain nothing to connect it with P more than J.

### 2) THE LANGUAGE OF J.

גִּבּוֹר but three times in Gen., 10:8 J, v. 9 R, 6:4 J<sup>1</sup>, besides in Hex. only D and Rd. הָאֵל besides only 4:4, 26; 27:31 in all the Hex. מוֹשֵׁב in J only here, in precisely the same sense 36:43 P. שָׁפַךְ only here in Hex. in this sense; in P Ex. 6:12, 30. רָבְרִים in P 34:18. לִשׁוֹן only ch. 10 in this sense in Hex.; in J Ex. 4:10; 11:7. מִקְרָם in P Num. 34:11. בִּקְעָה here in J<sup>1</sup>, nowhere in J. שְׁנַעַר once in J<sup>1</sup>, twice in J. אִישׁ אֶל-רֵעֵהוּ but once in J 43:33, and without אֵל 15:10; 31:49. It does not chance to occur

in P, though רָעָהוּ does, Josh. 20:5. "P uses אִישׁ אִישׁ or אֶחָד אֶחָד"; but אִישׁ אִישׁ is restricted to legal sections and cannot therefore be expected in J, אִישׁ אֶחָד in J Gen. 26:31; Ex. 16:15; Lev. 26:37 and perhaps Num. 14:4. יָרַב here in J<sup>1</sup>; in J only 38:16; 47:15, 16; Deut. 32:3. מִנְדֵּל and חֹמֶר, לִבֵּן, לִבְנָה nowhere in J according to Dillmann; חֹמֶר and לִבְנָה in a verse of P, Ex. 1:14, but arbitrarily cut out and attributed to R. יָרַךְ does not happen to be used of God in P, but is implied in the

cloud and glory resting upon Sinai, Ex. 24:16, 17, and the tabernacle, 40:34 sqq., as well as in God's *going up* from Abraham, 17:22. "P makes God *appear*," so does J, Gen. 12:7; 17:1; 18:1, etc. אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי הָאָדָם here in J, only once in J, Deut. 32:8. זָכַם nowhere in J. מוֹלֶרֶת in 11:28 be-

longs to P (so Dill., Well.) and has precisely the same sense as in 12:1. אֵל in P 36:9 (Dill.), שָׁם P 36:39, see also vs. 10, 40. עֵקֶרָה in P 11:30 (Dill. and Well.). וְלֹךְ only here. גִּדְלָה in P, Num. 6:5.

We have now examined in detail every word and phrase alleged as characteristic of P or J, and are certainly justified in saying that the argument of diversity from this source has been immensely exaggerated. The great body of what is adduced is utterly irrelevant. The words occur so rarely as to be no criterion of a writer's ordinary diction, or they occur in the other document as well, or, if not, it is because there was no occasion for their employment. And when synonyms occur, they are used discriminately, as determined by the shade of meaning intended and not by the accidental habit of different writers. Such facts are of no significance whatever as respects the question of the existence of distinct documents. And if the long lists of words which we have scrutinized be purged of whatever is thus most satisfactorily explained, the residuum will be very small indeed, and scarcely worth considering but for an associated fact into which we now proceed to inquire, viz.,

#### The Alternation of Divine Names.

This is the starting-point from which the modern hypothesis of separable documents took its rise; and its concurrence with other criteria, which taken by themselves would be of small account, lends it whatever plausibility it possesses. The occurrence of Elohim and Jehovah in alternate sections in the first few chapters of Genesis is certainly very remarkable and plainly not accidental. There are some indications, though less distinct, of a like alternation in later chapters. But after Ex. ch. 3 or ch. 6 the name Jehovah comes into established predominance, and sections in which Elohim recurs with any marked frequency (such as Ex. 18:17-19; 18:1-7, 12-27) are thenceforth extremely rare. It is quite natural, accordingly, to inquire whether these chapters, which are to some extent a turning-point in the use of these names, may not supply a key to what is peculiar in their antecedent employment.

The critics interpret Ex. 6:3 to mean that the name Jehovah was then first revealed to Moses, p. 31 (5), and had not been in use in the time of the patriarchs. They hence regard all prior sections containing the name Jehovah as in conflict with this statement, p. 36 (7. b), especially as Jehovah is used not only in the language of the writer himself but when he is reporting the words of those who lived long before Moses' time. Such sections, it is said, imply a different belief as to the origin and use of this sacred name, and must, therefore, be attributed to another writer, who held that it was known from the earliest periods and who has recorded his idea upon that subject, Gen. 4:26, p. 37 (9.c). But



1. It is plain that the Redactor did not so understand Ex. 6:3. After recording the history of the patriarchs, in which free use is made of the name Jehovah, he is here supposed to introduce the statement from the mouth of God himself that they had never heard this name, and thus to have stultified himself completely.

2. It is equally plain that it could not have been so intended. This passage finds its explanation in the repeated statement that Israel (Ex. 6:7; 10:2; 16:12; 29:46), the Egyptians (7:5; 14:4,18) and Pharaoh (7:17; 8:6,18; 9:14,29; cf. 5:2) should know that he was Jehovah; not that they should be told that this was his name, but that they should witness the manifestation of those attributes which the name denoted. That he was not so known by the patriarchs can only mean, therefore, that while tokens of his almighty power had been vouchsafed to them, no such disclosure had been made of the perfections indicated by his name Jehovah as was now to be granted to their descendants.

3. The uniform usage of Scripture proves the same thing. A true apprehension of the divine perfections and not a mere acquaintance with the word Jehovah is the constant meaning of the phrase "to know the name of Jehovah," 1 Kgs. 8:43; Ps. 9:11; 91:14; Isa. 52:6; 64:1; Jer. 16:21; Ezek. 39:6,7.

It is important to observe here precisely what these arguments prove, viz. that Ex. 6:3 was not written with an antiquarian interest or from an antiquarian point of view. It does not concern itself about the history of the word Jehovah and cannot with any fairness be regarded as affirming or denying anything about it. Its sole design is to declare that Jehovah was about to manifest himself in the character represented by this name as he had not done to the patriarchs. Since, then, the writer did not intend to assert that the word was unknown to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, there is no reason why in relating their history he might not consistently introduce this word in language uttered by them or addressed to them.

Neither, it should also be observed, was the patriarchal history written in the spirit of a verbal antiquary, so as to make a point of rigorously abstaining from employing any word not then in current use. The God of the patriarchs was the very same as Jehovah, and the writer might as properly use the dialect of his own time in speaking of him, as in reporting the language of the antediluvians, without thereby warranting the inference that he supposed Hebrew to have been at that period a current form of speech.

Whether the name Jehovah was ante-Mosaic is a legitimate subject of inquiry. But it is not answered categorically in the negative by Ex. 6:3, nor inferentially in the affirmative by the use of this word in the patriarchal history. That question lay out of the plane of the writer's thoughts in the one place as well as in the other, and no express utterance is made regarding it. Much less have contradictory answers been given to it. The inconsistency which the critics

affirm, does not exist. There is consequently no difficulty from this source in supposing that the author of Ex. 6:3 may likewise have penned the Jehovist sections in Genesis.

If we may take a suggestion from Ex. 6:3, it would be that different names of God have each their distinct and proper signification. And this inherent signification of the terms must be taken into the account, if any successful attempt is to be made to explain their usage. It is not here pretended that this principle will solve the entire problem of the employment of the divine names in Genesis. Limiting considerations and additional elements, which need not here be anticipated, will be found to enter into it hereafter. It is sufficient now to show from the passage at present under consideration, that the mechanical and superficial solution of two blended documents offered by the critics, does not really cover the case.

Gen. 4:26 is understood by the critics to affirm that in the belief of J the name Jehovah first came into use in the days of Enosh, the son of Seth, p. 37 (9. c). This accords very well with Eve's use of Elohim, 4:25, at the birth of Seth and in conversation with the serpent, 3:1-5, but not with her mention of Jehovah, 4:1, at the birth of Cain. Reuss says that the writer here contradicts himself. Dillmann can only evade the difficulty by a transposition of the text. All which simply proves that their interpretation of 4:26 is false. It fixes the origin not of the word Jehovah, but of the formal invocation of God, the institution of public worship.

The exceptional introduction of 'Elohim in chs. 2:4-4:26, a section mainly characterized by Jehovah, shows that these names are used discriminatingly within the same document. Elohim is substituted for Jehovah in the conversation with the serpent, 3:1-5, as elsewhere in language used by aliens or addressed to them, Gen. chs. 20, 21:22, 23. At first sight it seems strange that Cain should be accepted, 4:1, as a gift from Jehovah, and Seth, 4:25, from Elohim; but in the latter passage the contrast is between man and God, see Gesen. Lex., אֱלֹהִים, B. 1. Cain slew Abel, but God bestowed another in his stead.

A like discrimination in the use of the divine names is obvious as between this section as a whole and the preceding Elohim section, 1:1-2:3; God working in nature and in the world at large is Elohim. True, the creative act may be ascribed to Jehovah, Ex. 20:11, when the thought to be conveyed is that Israel's God, who brought him out of the land of Egypt, was the creator of the world; but when the announcement to be made simply is that the world had a divine creator, Elohim is the proper term and is hence used in ch. 1 and to the end of the first section. Jehovah is distinctively the God of revelation and of redemption; hence in the succeeding section, where God's grace to man is the prominent thought, his care and favor bestowed upon him in his original estate, the primal promise of mercy after the fall, and the goodness mingled with severity which

marked the whole ordering of his condition subsequently, Jehovah is the only proper term. While to make it plain that Jehovah is not a different or inferior deity, but that the God of grace is one with God the Creator, both names are combined, Jehovah Elohim, throughout chs. 2 and 3. Is this appropriate use of these terms merely a lucky accident and wholly undesigned, resulting from the combination of two independent documents, in each of which the names of God are regulated, not by their suitableness to the subject matter, but by the mere habit of the writer?

In ch. 5 the Elohim of v. 1 is adopted from 1:27, and the Jehovah of v. 29 from 3:17; cf. v. 14. The only other divine name in the chapter is Elohim in vs. 22, 24. The phrase "walked with God" is used twice of Enoch and once of Noah, 6:9. As "man of God" is an established expression, while "man of Jehovah" never occurs, so we find "walk before Jehovah," Gen. 24:40, and "walk after Jehovah," Deut. 13:5, but never "walk with Jehovah;" only "walk with God," Mic. 6:8 (note the interchange of divine names in this verse). It is suggestive of the contrast between God and men, holy intercourse with God, not communion with the ungodly world, and so "God took him."

In chs. 6-9 there is an equal appropriateness in the use of the divine names. At the beginning and at the end both names occur in J paragraphs in an instructive manner. It is Jehovah who extends his grace to Noah while resolving to destroy the wicked world; at the same time usage calls for "sons of Elohim" rather than "sons of Jehovah," 6:1-8. Again in 9:26, 27 Jehovah is the God of Shem, the father of the chosen race, but it is Elohim, the God of universal providence and of all mankind, who shall enlarge Japheth.

Throughout the narrative of the flood it is mostly Elohim that is used, because it is God the Creator destroying the works of his own hands, and the God of providence directing the preservation of the various species of living things in the ark and covenanting that all terrestrial creatures shall not be again destroyed by a deluge. It is only when the thought is more especially directed to the saving of Noah's pious house and of clean animals intended for sacrifice, that Jehovah is employed. Thus Jehovah bids them enter the ark, 7:1-5, and shuts them in, v. 16, and accepts Noah's sacrifice, 8:20-22.

In chs. 10-12:5 it is Jehovah, the God of the chosen race, who calls Abram and gives him promises, 12:1 sqq. It is also Jehovah who, in the interest of his plan of grace and of his kingdom on earth, defeats the machinations of the builders of Babel, 11:1-9, and keeps his eye upon Nimrod, the founder of an empire which was the first embodiment of worldly power, 10:9.

This survey of the use of the divine names in the chapters under consideration supplies more than a negative argument. It not only shows that the alternation is readily explicable without the assumption of diverse documents, but it reveals a propriety in their employment which cannot be accidental, and never

could have resulted from piecing together documents independently conceived and written, in each of which one particular name was used irrespective of the subject treated. Whether a like propriety in the use of these names rules in the rest of Genesis or not, is for the present a matter of no concern. The method observable in their employment in the chapters before us, is a fact for which the document hypothesis cannot account.

#### The Divine Names and Language.

But though neither the language of these chapters nor the divine names regarded separately lend any support to the document hypothesis, possibly the case may be altered when they are taken together. It is claimed, p. 67, 2 (2), "that whenever Elohim is used, it is accompanied by a certain series of words, and that it is just so in the use of Yahweh." But really this is not so.

In the first Elohim section (1:1-2:3), of the words and phrases adduced as characteristic, some recur nowhere else in the Hexateuch, others nowhere else in Genesis, and others still in but one other narrative in Genesis, that of the flood, a theme closely related to that of the creation, and here they are found in both its P and J paragraphs. Beyond this there is scarcely a characteristic word or phrase which reappears in another P section of Genesis. The second so-called Elohim section, ch. 5, has, as it has been shown, no right to be so considered. Beyond a few expressions directly borrowed in equal measure from P and J sections, neither ch. 5 nor the kindred genealogy, 11:10-26, contain anything to ally them to any of the P sections.

The next Elohim section, that of the flood, is almost equally detached in point of language from all the succeeding P sections of Genesis. Of the words and phrases here adduced as characteristic a few recur in Gen. ch. 17;\* but beyond this scarcely one is to be found again in P in the rest of Genesis† (creation excepted), not as many, in fact, as reappear in J. In the so-called Elohist portion of chs. 10, 11 and 12:1-5 (though Elohim does not occur in it) there is not one word found elsewhere in P that is not also in J, except רכוש and the cognate verb רכש. The former of these occurs several times in ch. 14, which is universally held not to belong to P; and it is only excluded from E in another passage by critical jugglery.

\* The following are common to the flood and Gen. 17, viz., תמים 17:1; כדורתי nowhere else (לדרתם and לדרתכם 17:7,9,12); ואני הנני nowhere else in Gen. (אני הנה 17:4); הקים ברית (17:7,19,21); עצם self-same, 17:23,28; כאר כאר 17:2,6,20 (J 80:43); ב distributive, 17:23; "with you and with your seed after you," 17:8,19, repeated with explicit allusion to this passage, 28:4; 35:12.

† But two are found in P elsewhere in Gen., viz., שחת the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, 19:21 P, repeatedly in J, גוע the death of patriarchs, 25:8,17; 35:29; 49:33. צור 21:4 has no significance, besides in Hex. only in J, Ex. 34:4. חיה wild beast only J and E, 37:20,33. גבר only J 49:28. ירק besides in Hex. only in J and E; "thou and thy sons and thy wife," etc., 6:18; cf. in J 19:12,16.

With such a state of facts it is the merest delusion for the critics to say that Elohim, wherever it occurs, is always accompanied by the same series of words. They have simply imposed upon themselves by lists of words which are in large part unmeaning, but from which superficial conclusions are drawn with no scrutiny of their real significance and value.

Add to this that in order to maintain their hypothesis the critics find it necessary to assume the existence of two Elohist documents, one of which is so closely related to J in style and conception and so intimately blended with it that it is always extremely difficult and sometimes quite impossible to separate them. This certainly has the appearance of an evasion, which is equivalent to an indirect confession of the futility of the entire hypothesis. We are first told that the text of Genesis must be divided with reference to the names Elohim and Jehovah; and the style and diction of P and J are inferred from the paragraphs respectively assigned to them. We proceed further in the analysis, and lo! Elohim perversely occurs where the criteria of P made out from the early chapters will no longer apply. The critics tell us that this must be a second Elohist. It will be incumbent, however, upon them to make it very plain that the second Elohist is not simply an exigency of their own hypothesis; otherwise it can only be accepted as a reluctant admission that the criteria previously laid down for P are false.

#### The Divine Names and Theology.

It is further claimed that if "we divide these chapters into two divisions simply on the basis of the use of the divine names," we shall discover "that each division has its own peculiar and widely different conception of God, etc.," p. 67. 2 (5). If Elohim and Jehovah are words of different signification, and represent the Most High under different aspects of his being, as they manifestly do, they must when used correctly and with regard to their proper meaning, be associated with different conceptions of God. This will not argue a diversity of writers, but simply that the divine name has each time been selected in accordance with the idea to be expressed.

Elohim is the more general and so to speak abstract designation of God as the creator and providential governor of the world at large and of the whole collective mass of mankind. Jehovah is his personal name and that by which he has made himself known when entering into close relations with men, and particularly the chosen race, as the God of revelation and the God of grace. Hence result these three consequences:

1. This intimacy of relationship involves a condescension to man and placing himself in accord with man, which requires anthropomorphisms for its expression and can be made intelligible in no other way.

2. It is to God as Jehovah that man pays his worship; so that when altars and sacrifice and invocation are spoken of, Jehovah is the term proper to be used.

3. It is Jehovah who has established his kingdom amongst men, and who is directing the course of that kingdom so as to further his gracious designs. It is naturally to be expected, therefore, that the unfolding of these plans and opening prophetic glimpses into his designs will be attributed to Jehovah rather than Elohim.

If now the various propositions in which the theology of P and of J are set forth with not a little iteration, be relieved of their exaggerations and inaccuracies and corrected into accordance with the text from which they are professedly drawn, it will be found that they cover just what, as has now been shown, the difference of the divine names calls for; just that and nothing more.

Why God's speaking in the first person plural is "strictly monotheistic" in P 1:26, p. 29 (1), but "not so rigidly" so in J 3:22; 11:7, p. 30 (1), others may be able to explain; I cannot. It is not commonly supposed that God is any the less "an infinite being" for working with means of his own creation, p. 30 (2), than when he works without them. J speaks (2:4) of "Jehovah God's making earth and heaven" with no suggestion of any material. Forming the body of man (2:7) of dust, into which for his sin it was to be again resolved (3:19), and Eve from the rib of Adam (2:22 sqq.) in token of the oneness of their being, demanded as real an exercise of divine power as bidding the earth to bring forth grass and living creatures, 1:12,24. Why Jehovah "causing a strong east wind to blow in order to bring locusts (Ex. 10:13,19), or to drive back the sea (Ex. 14:21)" J, p. 30 (2), is a result brought about "by natural means," when God's making "a wind to pass over the earth and the waters assuaged," 8:1, P, is not "a natural event," but "the fiat of almighty power," p. 50 (5), I do not see. For an illustration of the difficulty which the critics create for themselves on this point, together with a professed answer in which the difficulty is simply ignored, see p. 58 (2).

If no one has "attempted to reconcile ch. 2" with "modern science," p. 30 (2), it cannot be because there was any difficulty in doing it. The chronological arrangement of ch. 1 presents a basis of comparison with geological discoveries which is wanting in the topical arrangement of ch. 2. But man's spiritual kinship with God, and the composition of his body from materials furnished by the inorganic matter of the earth (2:7), his absolute superiority of nature to the brute creation, 2:20, and the inviolability of the marriage relation, 2:24, are the lessons of the chapter; and science may dispute them if it can.

If in J "man is on free and even confidential terms with God," p. 30 (3), this belongs appropriately to Jehovah, as the condescending God of grace who permits and invites men to "come boldly" unto him, Heb. 4:16. But how is it in P, 5:22; 6:9, where Enoch and Noah "walked with God," and 17:18,22, when Abraham talked with God until "God went up from" him, just as in J Jehovah came down from heaven, 11:5; 18:21, and visited men, 18:1 sqq., though all the while in heaven, 19:24? And how is it that "walking with God" is a

"phrase which in J would be meaningless," p. 38 (4), when "walking before Jehovah" is the phrase by which Abraham's pious life is described, 24:40? The irony with which, 3:22, the words of the tempter, 3:5, are repeated as fulfilled in a disastrous sense, does not imply that man had gained a "superhuman attribute" by eating the forbidden fruit, p. 30 (4). Cain's fear is not that "Jehovah cannot protect him," 4:14, but that he will not. The angel disabled Jacob's thigh by a touch, 32:25, not "because he was likely to prevail," but to show him how impotent he really was. The suggestion respecting 3:8 and 2:21, p. 31 (5), is too trivial for a serious reply. If "in 11:5; 18:20-22 God is represented as resorting to personal inspection to ascertain something of which he is ignorant," the same is the case in Ps. 14:2 and even in Ps. 139:23,24, where it is attached to the most exalted description in human language of the omnipresence and the omniscience of the infinite God. There is not the slightest inconsistency between the anthropomorphisms of J and the lofty conceptions of P. They abound alike in the Psalms and are freely intermingled in their devout utterances. With one breath the Psalmist speaks of God as knowing the secrets of the heart, 44:22, and with the next calls upon him "Awake, why sleepest thou?" v. 24.

It should be observed further that P has his anthropomorphisms likewise, and that even in ch. 1 with all its grandeur and simplicity. Each creative fiat is uttered in human language, 1:3,6 sqq. God "called the light אור," 1:5, giving Hebrew names to that and various other objects. He "saw the light that it was good" 1:4, thus inspecting the work of each day and pronouncing upon its quality. He uttered a formula of blessing upon the various orders of living things, 1:22,28. He deliberated with himself prior to the creation of man, 1:26. Man was made "in the image of God," an expression which has been wrested to imply a material form. Time was spent upon the work; and this was parceled into six successive days like so many working periods of men. When the work was done, God rested on the seventh day, 2:2; and thus the week was completed, again a human measure of time. All this is anthropomorphic. He who would speak intelligently to finite comprehension of the infinite God, must use anthropomorphisms. The difference after all is not of kind but of degree.

The statement is repeatedly made that according to P sacrifices had no existence before the time of Moses, p. 38 (2 and 4), 50 (3), 51 (3). This is altogether unwarranted. No affirmation of the sort is made in any section attributed to P; nor is any declaration made that is inconsistent with the prior existence of sacrifices. The whole truth in the case is that Jehovah, being the personal name of God and the name under which he is worshiped, this name is preferably employed when sacrifice is mentioned or alluded to; so that the absence of reference to sacrifice in Elohim sections is sufficiently accounted for. And yet Elohim directs Abraham to offer Isaac as a burnt-offering, 22:2 sqq., and Jacob offers sacrifices to Elohim, 46:1. If the critics refer these to a second Elohist, because

P never mentions sacrifice; and then argue that P never mentions sacrifice, since these passages belong to E and not to P, is not that a circular style of reasoning?

Besides, the existence of sacrifice is implied, as before suggested, in the prohibition of eating blood, 9:4. And it is well worthy of consideration whether it is not also implied in the rite of circumcision, 17:10 sqq. If this be, as Ewald supposes, in its original idea, "a blood-offering," it shows a familiarity with the conception of expiation by the shedding of blood, out of which it sprung. Or if it be explained with Schultz,\* as "a consecration of the life to God by a painful and bloody purification," it at least involves the idea of the clean and unclean and purgation by blood.

Argument would be easier and more satisfactory, if random remarks were avoided, and nothing imputed to the writers of Scripture which is not in their words either explicitly or by fair implication. In addition to corrections previously made, p. 38 (3) has no foundation in the original record: "J seems to think that Cain should have had more knowledge than he exhibits. He should have known that Yahweh prefers a bloody offering." This neither agrees with (2) immediately above, nor with the reason given for the rejection of Cain's offering, 4:7. "He favors those who dwell in tents and have cattle, and looks with suspicion on the man of the field"; how does this agree with Adam being referred for his subsistence to "the herb of the field," 3:18, and "the father of such as dwell in tents and have cattle," 4:20, being traced to the apostate line of Cain? And where does J express any opinion about "the Rechabite"? or object to "sowing or reaping," cf. 26:12; 27:27,28? or to "agriculture," which is contemplated in every promise of the land of Canaan and implied in the legislation attributed to J, Ex. 34:18 sqq.? or show any disposition to "cling to the old pastoral life," whereas the sentence pronounced upon the people for their sin, Num. 14:33 J (Heb.), is "Your children shall be shepherds in the wilderness forty years"?

#### Diversity of Style.

The stately account of the creation, ch. 1, is compared with the narrative that follows chs. 2,3, pp. 25-27; or the genealogy from Adam to Noah, ch. 5, with the story of Cain and Abel, ch. 4, pp. 33,34, and the conclusion is drawn that P is chronological, statistical, stereotyped and repetitious, while J is free and flowing, vivid and picturesque. With the same propriety a bill presented by a merchant to his customer might be compared with a letter written to his wife and diversity of authorship inferred, because one deals in dates and figures and business forms and the other in easy flowing sentences. If two narratives of like character be compared with fairness and candor, the alleged diversities will disappear. It is curious to observe how different critics vary in their judgment respecting style, showing that a subjective element enters largely into their opinions. Thus Eich-

\**Alttestamentliche Theologie*, p. 401.



horn\* holds a very different view of these writers from that suggested above. In his opinion P in ch. 1 exhibits high art and a carefully arranged and admirably executed plan; every word is so nicely weighed that the same formulæ can be used successively in the various scenes which he portrays. J in chs. 2,3, is a less skillful and practiced writer.

The only section in which there is a reasonable opportunity for a comparison of style is that of the flood. And a moment's examination will show that the judgment passed upon it (p. 45) is purely subjective, not elicited from the passage itself, but obtruded upon it. The style of P is said to be

"(1) Characterized by a systematic arrangement of material, as is seen in (a) the introduction, 'These are the generations,' etc. [it has been shown that this belongs not to the P sections in particular, but to the plan of the book in its completed form]; (b) the five months of increase of flood; (c) the five months of decrease [but compare the forty days, 7:4,12, and forty days, 8:6; the seven days, 7:4,10, and seven days, 8:10,12]; (d) the gradual leading up to the Noachic covenant (9:1-17) [but compare the preparation (7:2,3,8) for the sacrifice, 8:20] the law of bloodshed which is given in such detail as to show that it is a point of greatest importance in the writer's mind [but compare what is said, p. 39 (4), of J's presentation of the guilt of the murderer]; (e) the return to the formula of ch. 5 in 9:28,29 [as already shown the history of the flood is simply inserted in the body of the genealogy; having completed the former, he again takes up the latter where he left it]."

"(2) Is minute, chronological, scientific, as seen in (a) the calculation of the age of Noah, 7:6,11 [v. 6 is enclosed in a J paragraph and only cut out and assigned to P because of this calculation; v. 11 adjoins a J paragraph and might just as easily have been attached to it, if the critics had chosen], 9:28,29 [already explained]; (b)-(h) [7:1 implies a previous mention of the ark. If J is an independent and continuous document, it must have given an account of the ark which has been omitted. Where is the evidence that this was less detailed and minute?]; (i) the rigid classification in 6:18; 7:13 [exactly the same in 7:7, the reference of which to R is mere evasion]; (j) the classes of animals in 6:20, etc. [so 6:7; 7:8, 23; in v. 23 the enumeration is transferred to P, though it carries with it **וימחו** claimed as a criterion of J, p. 46 (3)]; (k) the use of **למינו**, **זכר ונקבה**, **למשפחותיהם**, etc. [previously explained: "male and female" in J 7:3,9]; (l) the trouble taken to declare the absolute universality of the flood [the evidence adduced in the note is 7:19-23, and the words attributed to J in these verses are as sweeping and universal as the rest. "The high mountains under the whole heaven," v. 19, by any reasonable principle of interpretation mean neither the Andes nor the Himalayas, but all within the scope of Noah's vision and perhaps

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\* *Repertorium für Bibl. und Morgenländ. Literatur*, part 4, pp. 137,174.

the writer's knowledge. The flood was universal enough to accomplish its purpose, 6:7. The way in which it was brought about is explained 7:11,12. The ocean rushed in upon the land in consequence no doubt of the subsidence of the latter, and torrents poured down from the skies. At length the flow of the ocean ceased and its waters retreated (8:2) from the emergence of the land. All is in harmony with geologic laws and admitted facts]; (m) the legal phraseology of 9:4-6 [previously explained]."

And all the rest that is adduced on this subject is of the same nature.

### CONCLUSION.

The matter contained in the sections respectively attributed to J and to P in the chapters now under consideration, is on p. 65 summed up under nine heads practically identical in both and treated in the same order. Such a remarkable correspondence throughout makes it impossible to conceive that these represent two entirely independent documents. The discrepancies and contradictions alleged to prove diversity of authorship do not exist; and if they did, they would make the work of the Redactor inconceivable. There is not a duplicate account of the creation, nor of the line of descent from Adam to the existing race of mankind, nor of the deluge. There are no such differences of language between the sections of J and P, as require the assumption of a diversity of writers. The alternation of the divine names Elohim and Jehovah can be explained without that assumption. The alleged difference of style is factitious. The difference in theological conceptions is linked with the signification and usage of Elohim and Jehovah, the selection of the name having been made (so far as we have yet gone) in accordance with the thought to be conveyed, and so far from the same series of words being invariably attendant upon Elohim and Jehovah respectively, the characteristic P expressions in the account of the creation and the deluge are conspicuously absent from every other P section in Genesis, except ch. 17, the covenant of circumcision with Abraham.

If the current critical hypothesis has any ground to rest upon in Gen. 1:1-12:5, we have not been able to find it. The "grave doubts" of Prof. Reuss, the venerable father of this hypothesis in its present form (*Geschichte d. A. T.*, p. 255), whether any of the sections attributed to the work of the Jehovist prior to Gen. 12, really belonged to it, have been confirmed by our examination. Whether any thing after Gen. 12 belonged to it, must be a matter for future inquiry.

The present article has not been written in the interest of any particular hypothesis of the origin of Genesis. No hypothesis on that subject has been propounded or defended. We have simply inquired into the strength of the arguments adduced in favor of the solution offered by the critics, and have found them wanting. We are conscious of no antecedent bias against a critical analysis of the Book of Genesis, and its partition among different writers, if

that can be fairly established. No prejudice need thence arise against Moses being the author or at least the editor of the book. The remark p. 70 (6) is certainly over-hasty: "If there is an analysis, even these chapters furnish enough to show that Moses is not the author of the Pentateuch; for, *if Gen. 1-12 was written long after Moses' death*, it is presumable that the other portions of the Hexateuch which follow and connect with these chapters belong also to a later date." Not a word has yet been said tending to establish the hypothetical clause italicized above. No argument urged in favor of the analysis of Genesis would affect the question of its Mosaic composition, but such as are inconsistent with the honesty or capacity of the Redactor, and those are suicidal to the hypothesis itself.

If now, without positively committing ourselves at this stage of the discussion, the facts thus far developed may be allowed to shape themselves in the direction of some definite issue, may it not be said that the present indications seem to favor something like the old Vitrunga hypothesis? Moses was in possession of some ancient genealogical registers, preserved among his people from their ancestors. And the alternation of ילד and הוליד may possibly, as Kurtz\* long ago suspected, be traceable to the varying forms of expression in these old registers. Besides this the story of the creation and the flood and the covenant with Abraham, ch. 17, seem to be bound together by their diction in a very peculiar manner. These great outstanding facts, whether reduced to writing or gaining a fixed form by oral repetition, filled the soul of the ardent young Hebrew, as they were read to him or told to him in his boyhood by his mother or the men of his nation. And these old stories shine through his narrative, just as his Egyptian training shines out in his laws, without its being possible in either case to exactly reproduce by a critical process from what he has written, just what he had heard or had been taught.

The peculiar use of the divine names in Genesis points likewise to the same conclusion. It finds its only adequate explanation not in the mechanical assumption of the blending of two documents representing different ideas of the origin of the name Jehovah, but of one writer standing at the point of transition from the old to the new, himself the leader in that great crisis in which this sacred name assumed a prominence and gained a fullness of meaning unknown before, and to whom its significance had been unfolded by the Lord himself. Genesis

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\* *Die Einheit der Genesis* (Berlin, 1846), p. 82. I cannot too strongly recommend this masterly treatise to those who are studying the critical partition of the Pentateuch. The supplementary hypothesis was then in vogue and its arguments are specially directed against it; but they are equally valid against any other form of critical division. The distinguished author was unfortunately induced subsequently to accept a compromise, proposed with the best intentions, which yielded the direct Mosaic authorship, but insisted on the substantially Mosaic character of the contents of the Pentateuch. The subsequent course of Pentateuch criticism in Germany has shown that this was a mistake. If evangelical critics in that country had stood upon the line of defense so ably drawn out by Kurtz, and made their advances from it, they would occupy a far stronger position and maintain a more hopeful attitude than they do at present.

reflects a time prior to that in which this name had practically superseded every other appellation of the Most High, and was habitually used of the true God in every aspect of his being. It is employed with nice discrimination, and by one who, while he delights to trace Israel's covenant God in even the first buddings of his scheme of grace and through all its successive stages, is at the same time near enough to the patriarchal age to have had some of the divine transactions, by which it was characterized, traditionally conveyed to him in the exact form in which they originally took place.

One word, in closing, as to "Hasisadra," p. 62. There are striking points of correspondence between the deluge tablets and the Bible narrative which have their interest and importance. But only he can consistently maintain that the latter is borrowed from the former, who fancies that genuine coin is an attempted imitation of the spurious, and that pure drugs were originated as rivals of the adulterated article. My own private opinion on the subject corresponds with that of Zophar, the Naamathite, respecting the Darwinian hypothesis. When he would say in the most emphatic manner that a thing is impossible, he says that it may take place "when a wild ass's colt is born a man," Job 11:12.\*

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#### ERRATA.

On p. 138, the first half of the seventh line from the bottom ought to read, "but on the conjectures of the critics." So in copy.

On p. 157, in the second line of the second column of small type, it will be readily seen that ורכו should be ורכו .

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\* The second article by Professor Harper will be published in the July number of *HEBRAICA*.

## NOTES ON THE HEBREW VERB—PLURAL IN Â.

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In "miscellaneous notes" \* I called attention to what seemed to me instances of the use of 3d fem. plur. in â in the perfect of the Hebrew verb, as in other Semitic languages. To the few cases there enumerated I am now able, largely through the kindness of Mr. W. R. Newbold, to add the following: Deut. xxxii. 27; Josh. xvii. 18; 1 Sam. iv. 15; Isa. lxvi. 18 (if the text be not corrupt); Jer. xlviii. 15, 41 (twice); li. 29; Ps. xviii. 35 (in the parallel passage, 2 Sam. xxii. 35, a 3d sing. masc. verb is used with a fem. plur. noun); lxviii. 14. To these ten should be added the following, which have been changed by the Massoretes into plurals in â: Num. xxxiv. 4; Deut. xxi. 7; Josh. xv. 4; xviii. 12, 14, 19; 1 Kgs. xxii. 49; Jer. ii. 15; xxii. 16; iv. 6; twenty cases in all.

These are ordinarily explained by the grammarians as incorrect or careless usage, or as mere scribal errors, an explanation entirely inadequate in view both of their number, and also of the fact that every other Semitic language (including the Hebrew itself in the imperfect) possesses the feminine plural in â.

There are further two cases, 2 Kgs. xxiv. 10 and Job xvi. 16, where the plural in â is used with masculine nouns. I would also suggest as a possible emendation in Job xxvi. 13, שִׁפְרָהּ for שִׁפְרָה, which would bring this passage under the same head.

In my note on the formation of the imperfect in the same issue I neglected to notice three cases of the formation of the 3d fem. plur. with the prefix ' , as in other Semitic languages, viz., Gen. xxx. 38; 1 Sam. vi. 12; Dan. viii. 22.

The origin and force of the suffixes and prefixes of perfect and imperfect seem to me to be as follows: In the perfect the simple form of the verb remained unchanged in the most usual person, i. e., the 3d person, the 1st and 2d persons being differentiated by pronominal suffixes. The simple verb form was finally limited to the most usual forms of the third person, i. e., the 3d sing. masc., and the other gender and number were differentiated by suffixes of the same nature as those used in noun declension. Accordingly the feminine was indicated by t, the masc. plur. by â (cf. in noun declension ê and î), and the fem. plur. by â (cf. in noun declension â and t, modified to ôt). As in the case of nouns the fem. sing. in *at* ultimately gave place to â, and in consequence the fem. plur. went out of use to a great extent, the masc. plur. taking its place.

\* *HEBRAICA*, III., p. 111.

The imperfect is indicated by prefixes. The weakest possible consonantal prefix, ' (or, in Aramaean, ʔ), represents, if I may so express it, this principle of prefixing, having in itself no value of person or number. As above explained, the form with ' was ultimately appropriated for the 3d person, the other persons being indicated by pronominal prefixes. As in the perfect, the feminine was indicated by t, which, following the characteristic imperfect principle, was placed at the beginning, not the end, of the word. The plural was formed as in the perfect by adding û and â (the latter becoming nâ by insertion of euphonic ʔ). No plural ending was added in the first person, because the prefix in itself constituted a sufficient differentiation. Similarly the 3d fem. plur. was originally formed without the feminine prefix, the ending constituting a sufficient differentiation from the 3d plur. masc. Later, in Hebrew, the feminine t was prefixed to this form also, and the older plural form, יִקְטְלוּהָ, was lost from general use.

## PRONOMINAL ROOTS.

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Pronouns are nouns expressing the more common general relations in language (cf. Fürst, *Aram. Idioms*, § 190.; and Olshausen, *Lehrbuch*, n. 94). They may be reduced to four classes,—demonstrative, relative, indefinite and interrogative pronouns. Grammars usually treat of these as of correlative words. I shall first, therefore, say a word on the connection of correlatives; secondly, give a table of their roots; thirdly, apply the given roots to the four classes of pronouns, beginning with the most emphatic demonstratives, the personal pronouns.

### I. CONNECTION OF CORRELATIVES.

Correlatives embrace demonstrative, relative, indefinite and interrogative pronouns and particles. These four classes are easily reduced to two,—the one containing the demonstrative and relative pronouns; the other, the indefinite and interrogative. Apollonius (*Animadv. ad vet. gramm. doct. de artic.*, p. 20 ed. Lips.) points out a twofold demonstration,—δείξιν τῆς ὁψευδους and δείξιν τοῦ νοῦ, i. e. an ocular and a mental one. The particle employed in the former is now called demonstrative, while the word that points forward to what we are going to say, or back to what we have said, is called relative. Originally the same word served as demonstrative and relative, as is still evident in the Latin particle "ce" which appears in both "hi-c" and "qui—" (cf. Schoemanni, *Quæst. Gramm.*, c. 1., Gryphiswald, 1865, p. 5 sq.).

The second class of correlatives embraces the indefinite and interrogative particles. These two were identical in the beginning, and are so still in many cases. Compare, for instance, the Greek *τις, πότερος, ποσος, ποιος, πηλικος, που, ποθεν, ποι, ποτε, πως, πη*, the Latin *quis*, etc. Only the accent and the inflection of voice indicate whether these particles are employed as indefinite or as interrogative. Language is perfectly logical in identifying the interrogative and indefinite particles. For a question supposes a state of indefinite and imperfect knowledge in the inquirer. Nobody can ask about what he is absolutely ignorant. "Ignoti nulla cupido," as the old Scholastics used to say. On the other hand, the human mind is inquisitive by nature, or, as Seneca said, "Natura curiosum nobis ingenium dedit;" and consequently we are naturally inclined to inquire about what we but imperfectly know. Inquiry and indefinite knowledge being naturally connected,

we must be prepared to see this connection expressed in the particles employed to manifest that state of mind. And if we consider that all language is demonstrative, we rightly name the indefinite particles indefinite demonstratives.

All particles, then, were originally either definite or indefinite demonstratives. Apollonius may again serve as our guide. He distinguishes τὴν πλῆσιον and τὴν πόρρω δείξιν, and would no doubt have identified his divisions with our definite and indefinite demonstration. It is difficult, however, to determine the exact limit between the πλῆσιον and the πόρρω δείξιν, and language had to grapple with this difficulty in the concrete. Like Alexander, it cut the Gordian knot without untying it. The same particle was used for both definite and indefinite demonstration, accent and inflection of voice serving again as distinguishing characteristics. A parallel instance may be seen in the use of the German definite article, where emphasis and context decide whether *der* is article, or relative, or demonstrative. Cf. Schoemann in the passage cited above.

## II. TABLE OF SEMITIC PRONOMINAL ROOTS.

	COMPARE				
	Sanscrit	Latin	Greek	Gothic	German and English
1. אֲנִי-אָה-אֶה	i-dam, ah	is—e-go	ἐ-γώ	ik	ich—I
2. הוּא-הֵי-הָא	yas,yau,ye	hi-c	ὁ, ὅς	jus	ihr—who, he
3. אֲנִי-אָה-אֶה	sá, sas	sui, ip-se	δεῖνα(?), σὺ	sik, sis	sich—
4. אֲנִי-אָה-אֶה	kas,kau,ke	-ce, qui	ἐ-κεῖνος	ik	kein, ich
5. מִי-מִי-מִי	mat	me, ego-met	ἡ-μεῖς, ἐ-μεῖ	mik	mich—me
6. נִי-נִי-נִי	nas	nos, ne	νῶ	uns	uns
7. פִּי-פִּי-פִּי	api	ip-se	σφός		
8. תוּ-תוּ-תוּ	twat, tat	tu, is-te	τὸ, τὴν, τις	thu	der, dieser—this, that

The Sanscrit, Latin, Greek, Gothic, English and German pronominal forms I merely suggest as comparisons, without asserting their absolute identity with the respective Semitic particles. The manner in which they combine, however, will be indirectly suggested in treating of the composition of the Semitic pronouns.

## III. ANALYSIS OF SEMITIC PRONOUNS.

I begin with an analysis of the personal pronoun, because it is the most emphatic and definite demonstrative. The following table contains the component elements of only the Hebrew personal pronoun; but the peculiarities of the personal pronouns in the various Semitic dialects will be given below.



Singular	Plural
אֲנִי = אַנְי + הָא + כִּי	אֲנֵנוּ = אַנְי + הָא + נוּ
אַתָּה = אַתְּ + תָּא + אַנְי or תָּה + אַנְי	אַתֶּם = אַתְּ + מָא + תוּ
אֵת = אֵתְי + תִּי	אַתָּן = אַתְּ + נָא + תוּ
הוּא = הוּא + הוּ + אַה	הֵם = הֵם + מָא + הוּ
הֵיא = הֵיא + הִי + אַה	הֵן = הֵן + נָא + הוּ

According to this table all pronominal forms are preceded by the particle אַנְי. That this was originally the case even in the pronoun of the third person singular and plural is plain from the corresponding Aramaic forms, אַנְהוּ, אַנְהִי, אַנְהוֹן, אַנְהִין, etc. The rejection of initial אַנְי has its analogy in Syriac, when the personal pronoun serves as copula or accompanies the act. participle. Thus  $\text{ܐܡܪܢܐ}$  reads "omarno;"  $\text{ܐܠܝܕܝܬܐ}$  reads "iliditun" (cf. Merx, *Gramm. Syriaca*, p. 108 seq.). The third person may thus have lost its initial אַנְי even in writing, on account of its frequent occurrence in phrases where אַנְי was omitted in pronunciation.

אַנְי may be compared to the Latin "en", the Hebrew הֵן, and the Arabic  $\text{أَنَّ}$ . It is a particle that draws the attention of the hearer to what is going to follow. The Syriac  $\text{ܐܢܐ}$ , Arabic  $\text{أَنَا}$ , Mand.  $\text{אנא}$ , Chald.  $\text{אַנְאַ}$ , Samarit.  $\text{אנא}$  and Ethiopic  $\text{ኢኒ}$  are nothing but אַנְי + הָא, i. e. *en eum* (cf. the Lat. *eccum*). The Hebrew אֲנִי and Assyrian *an â ku* consist of the elements אַנְי-הָא, i. e. *en hi-c*. ה changes not unfrequently into quiescent ך or ך̄. Thus we have בּוֹשׁ besides Chald.  $\text{ܒܫܬ}$ ,  $\text{ܒܫܬܐ}$  besides Arabic  $\text{بُوش}$  and  $\text{مُوهَل}$  and  $\text{مُوهَل}$  and  $\text{نُوهَر}$  (cf. Gesenius, *Lexic.*, under ה). The Hebrew אֲנִי may be explained as אַנְי-הָא or אַנְי-הִי,

The second person singular masculine explains itself in almost all Semitic dialects. Its component elements are distinctly traceable in Arab.  $\text{أَنْتَ}$ , Chald.  $\text{אַנְתָּה}$  or  $\text{אַנְתְּ}$ , Mand.  $\text{אנאת}$ , and Syr.  $\text{ܐܢܬܐ}$ ; the Ethiopic form too tells its own story  $\text{ኢኒኑ}$ . In Heb. אַתָּה and Assyrian *atta* the ך of אַנְי has suffered assimilation. The *linea occulta* of the Syriac  $\text{ܐܢܬܐ}$  indicates the same assimilation at least in pronunciation. The second person feminine singular differs from the masculine only by its termination, the final vowel vanishing entirely or attenuating to *hîreq*. But the characteristics of gender terminations will be treated later on.

The third person has rejected its initial אַנְי in all dialects except the Chaldee.

The Assyrian  $\text{šû}$  and  $\text{šî}$  must be derived from  $\text{הוּ}$  and  $\text{הִי}$ .  $\text{הוּא}$  and  $\text{הִיא}$  have their equivalents in  $\text{هُوَ}$  and  $\text{هِيَ}$ , while in Syriac  $\text{ܫܝܬ}$  and  $\text{ܫܝܬܐ}$  the final element has disappeared. The Mandaric  $\text{הוּ}$  and  $\text{הִי}$ , Samaritan  $\text{𐤅𐤓𐤕}$  and  $\text{𐤅𐤓𐤕𐤕}$  and Ethiopic  $\text{ቀዳሽ}$  and  $\text{ደዳሽ}$  offer no special difficulty.

In the plural forms the radical terminations  $\text{ן}$  and  $\text{נ}$  are characteristic, the former in the masculine gender and the latter in the feminine. If we look upon the plural as an indefinite state of the noun, the plural terminations may be regarded as indefinite particles. We may compare the use of *tenween* in Arabic (cf. Lansing, *Arab. Man.*, Special Preface, p. x). This hint must suffice here. The plural terminations will be spoken of again when we come to the indefinite demonstratives.

$\text{אֲנִי}$  then consists of  $\text{אֶן-הֵא-נִי}$ , the middle element being transformed into  $\text{ה}$ . Changes of  $\text{ה}$  into  $\text{ה}$  occur frequently enough to justify our conjecture. Thus we have  $\text{הוּזָה}$  and  $\text{חֻזָּה}$ ,  $\text{גָּחַן}$  and  $\text{גָּהֶן}$ ,  $\text{גָּבַה}$  and  $\text{גָּבַח}$  (cf. Gesenius, *Lexicon*, under  $\text{ה}$ ). In  $\text{נִחְנִי}$  the initial  $\text{א}$  is rejected.  $\text{אֲנִי}$  is either a shortened form of  $\text{אֲנִי}$ , the medial elements having been rejected, or a derived form of  $\text{אֶן-הֵא-נִי}$ , Arabic  $\text{نَحْنُ}$ , Syriac  $\text{ܢܚܢܐ}$  and  $\text{ܢܚܢܐ}$ , Chaldee  $\text{ܐܢܝܢܐ}$  and  $\text{ܢܚܢܐ}$ , Ethiopic  $\text{ንሕን}$  and Samarit.  $\text{𐤏𐤓𐤕}$  and  $\text{𐤏𐤓𐤕𐤕}$ . In Assyr. (a)nini and Mand.  $\text{אֲנִי}$  medial  $\text{ה}$  has been changed to quiescent  $\text{י}$ , a well-known process, while in Chald.  $\text{אֲנִי}$  the guttural element is elided.

[To be continued.]

## ➤CONTRIBUTED NOTES.◀

**Devise Evil.**—This is a familiar phrase in Scripture. See Prov. III. 29; XIV. 22; Ezek. XI. 2; Mic. II. 1,3. It is no less common in Assyrian. See V. R. 1. 128; Sm. Asshurbanipal, 25. 15,16; Prof. Lyon's Manual, 46. 20. Where Asshurbanipal says of Tarquu (Tirhakah) and other rebellious rulers in Egypt, *ištini'iu amat limuttim*, they devised an evil plot, literally an evil word, so V. R. 2. 5, Manual 48. 6, and Sm. Assurbanipal, 27. 31. Another verb (*qapadu*) with the same meaning is used in V. R. 1. 120, Manual 46. 11, and Sm. Asshurbanipal, 24. 2. See also V. R. 4. 48, Manual 25. 32, and Sm. Asshurbanipal 162. 100. Again in V. R. 4. 68, Manual 26. 20, Sm. Asshurbanipal 165. 4. Many more places might be quoted, but these are enough to show the identity of the phrase in both languages.

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**House of their Fathers.**—This phrase is of frequent occurrence in the Hebrew. See Num. I. 2,4,18,20,22,24,44,45; Esth. IV. 14; 1 Sam. XXII. 16; XXIV. 21; 2 Sam. III. 29; Ezra V. 29. The Jewish tribes (Shibatim) were divided first into families (*mishpakhoth*) and these again into Fathers' Houses (*Beith Ha Aboth*).

Precisely the same phrase occurs in the Assyrian. In I. R. 60, also in Prof. Lyon's Manual, 11. 11, Sennacherib says that *Tsidqa*, king of Isqualuna (Ascalon), who did not submit to my yoke, the God of the house of his fathers, *ilani bit abišu*, himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brother, the seed of the house of his father *zir bit abišu* I carried off by force and led to Assyria.

The same expression also occurs frequently in the records of Asshurbanipal. See V. R. 4. 23, found also in Sm. Asshurbanipal, 160. 83, and Prof. Lyon's Manual, 25. 17. Again V. R. 4. 40, and Manual 25. 29, Sm. Asshurbanipal, 162. 97, also 176. 56, and 177. 83. Further citations are unnecessary.

T. L.

**Mouth.**—There is one meaning of the Hebrew word. מֶֿפֶּה, according to Gesenius, that does not appear in our English Bibles, either old version or new revision. In Gen. XXIV. 57, Laban according to our translation proposes to inquire at the mouth of Rebekah, Gesenius dispenses with the awkward preposition *at* and makes him propose to ask *counsel* of Rebekah. So Josh. IX. 14 and Isa. XXX. 2 is precisely the same rendering of our Bible and correction of it by Gesenius. The Assyrian fully sanctions the distinguished Hebrew scholar in his emendation, though he did not live to know it.

In V. R. 8. 48, found also in Prof. Lyon's Assyrian Manual, 29. 17, Asshur-banipal says that Abiyati, king of Arabia, *piišu iškimma*, literally "set his mouth" with the Nabateans. Obviously he took counsel with them, and so came to an agreement with them, so that their mouths spoke the same words and their hearts had the same purposes. Thus the old Assyrian records endorse the rendering arrived at independently by modern Hebrew Lexicography. T. L.

**The Inscription of Tabnit.**—In this beautiful Phœnician Inscription, discovered in 1887 by Hamdi Bey at Saida,\* there are only one or two phrases which still puzzle the student. Line 3 contains such a puzzle in the word **מִי**. Derenbourg has already seen that we expect something equivalent to the phrase **קִנְמִי** .... **אֵת כָּל אֲדָם** in line 4 of the *Ešmūnazār* inscription. He suggests a derivative from the root **יָמַן** "jurer." It is a wonder he did not hit upon the right solution. We must read **קִנְמִי אֵת כָּל אֲדָם**. The sense becomes clear at once. This correction cannot be objected to, seeing that we have a similar mistake in the last line of the same inscription, where Renan's reading **אֵל** **אֵל** **לֵן** seems quite certain. We might also be inclined to suspect **אֵל** **אֵל**, did it not occur twice, and have a parallel in **אֵיבֵל** in the Marseilles Sacrificial Tablet.† [With **הִתְפַּק**, cf. Isa. LVIII. 10 **וְהִתְפַּק לְרֵעֶב נֶפֶשׁ**]. Compare a very similar mistake in the *Ešmūnazār* inscription, line 6, where Barth conjectures **אֵל תִּשְׁמַע** **דְּרִבְרָנִם** "do not listen to their words."‡

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**Prof. Bickell's System of Hebrew Metre.**—Gregory Barhebraeus [*Ethic. Par.* 1 c. 5, § 4] as quoted in *Assemani Bibl. Orient.*, [tom. 1, p. 166] has the following sentence:

**וְאִשְׁתֵּי דַּוִּד מִלְּפָנֵי אֱלֹהִים שָׁמְרוּ בְּמִצְוֹתָיו חֲדָה כְּחֶדְמָה**  
**וְאִשְׁתֵּי דַּוִּד מִלְּפָנֵי אֱלֹהִים שָׁמְרוּ בְּמִצְוֹתָיו חֲדָה כְּחֶדְמָה**  
Castelli's Syriac *Lexicon* under **חֲדָה** expressly states:

"Transfertur etiam **חֲדָה** ad *modos poeticos*, versusque verbum dicitur. Sic Barhebraeus dicit, Balaeum multa carmina composuisse ad modum (*poeticos*) acceptos a Davide." If then Balai and Isaac wrote verses like David, it is but reasonable to apply in the scansion of David's verses and of all Hebrew poetry the canons of the Syriac poets. Prof. Bickell's system of Hebrew metre is therefore a rediscovery of Barhebraeus' system.

\* Renan, *Revue Archéologique*, x., 1887, pp. 1 sqq. Derenbourg, *Revue des Études Juives*, xv., No. 29, 1887, p. 109 sqq. Halevy, *ibid.*, p. 282, and the literature mentioned in the *Orientalische Bibliographie*, i., Nos. 1140, 3143, 3153, 3155, 3157, 3160, 3165, 3166; ix., Nos. 1237, 1239, 1240, 1241, 2633, 4463.

† C. I. S., p. 225, l. 18, 21.

‡ ZDMG, xli., 643.

Judg. XV. 16.—The Innsbrucker *Theol. Zeitung* [1888, II. pp. 246 sqq.] has a valuable suggestion concerning Judg. xv. 16. The Massoretic text reads:

בְּלֶחִי הַחֲמוֹר חֲמוֹר חֲמֹרָתִים  
בְּלֶחִי הַחֲמוֹר הַבֵּיתִי אֶלֶף אִישׁ:

This is rendered by the Authorized Version: "With the jawbone of an ass heaps upon heaps; with the jawbone of an ass have I slain a thousand men." Tenner, in his paper above referred to, suggests the adoption of the Septuagint reading instead of the Massoretic. The first half of the verse, "*ἐν σιαγόνι ὄνου ἐξαλείφω ἐξήλειψα αὐτούς*," he translates: "With the jawbone of the ass have I dyed them thoroughly," giving to *ἐξαλείφειν* its primary meaning "to dye," "to anoint," in preference to its more usual secondary meaning, "to destroy." Next he proposes the pointing **חֲמֹרָתִים** instead of **חֲמֹרָתִים** and the rendering: "With the jawbone of the ass [the red one] have I reddened them," instead of the commonly admitted translation. Finally several reasons are stated why Tenner's reading should be adopted. 1. It explains away **חֲמֹרָתִים**, an old *crux interpretum*. 2. It accounts for the LXX. rendering. 3. It brings Samson's play on words into more prominence. 4. It explains how Samson could have overcome the army of the Philistines with the jawbone of an ass. According to the suggested reading he did not necessarily kill all—which would require at least sixteen hours' hard work, allowing a minute for a man—but he reddened *them*, an indefinite number, and thus overcame a thousand, the rest preferring flight to bleeding noses.

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**Postscript to Semitic Studies in America.**—My short sketch on "The Present Status of Semitic Studies in America," in the last number of *HEBRAICA*, did not aim at being in any way exhaustive, its purpose being merely to give a general view of what was being done at the present moment in this country by way of promoting the study of the Semitic languages and their literatures. I felt at the time that, owing to a lack of sufficient statistical material, there were probably some omissions of facts which would further strengthen the grounds for the hopeful tone taken by the speakers at Dr. Pepper's reception. I find this to be the case.

First among these omissions, I desire to mention that excellent institution, the Theological Seminary at Newton Centre, Mass., which, according to private information that has reached me, has provided for instruction in the various Semitic languages for more than ten years. With such an able specialist as C. R. Brown in charge, it is quite natural to find the Newton Seminary attaching the very greatest importance to the thorough drilling of its students in general Semitic philology. Prof. Brown himself ought to have been referred to by me as

one of the pioneers in the movement which has brought Semitic studies into the foreground in this country, and I am truly sorry that I should by a pure accident have forgotten to mention his name in my short sketch. Secondly, among the universities providing at present for instruction in some of the Semitic languages, Haverford College and the University of the City of New York ought certainly to have been mentioned. At the former, a chair for biblical languages is occupied by the distinguished scholar, J. Rendell Harris, and during the temporary absence of Prof. Harris from the country, the instruction in the department, including, as a matter of course, Hebrew, is given by Prof. Robert W. Rogers. Dr. Abram S. Isaacs is the Professor of Hebrew at the New York University, and he intends extending the opportunities for study by adding, at an early date, other Semitic languages to the courses. And right here mention might be made of the encouraging fact that Princeton may be expected to offer full courses in Semitic languages ere long under the leadership of Prof. Frothingham, supplementing the instruction in Hebrew at the Princeton Theological Seminary by the nestor of Hebrew scholars in this country, W. H. Green. Also at the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, instruction is given in Syriac, and if I mistake not courses in Assyrian are now offered. Prof. Sproull, of the University of Cincinnati, writes me that he intends organizing classes in Assyrian next year in addition to the Arabic classes he has led for the past years. Finally, the fact might be mentioned that Dr. Cyrus Adler, of the Johns Hopkins University, has delivered some lectures on Assyriology in its bearings on the Old Testament before the students of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. I shall be grateful for all information on the subject, in case that I decide to prepare at some future time an exhaustive paper.

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**A Manuscript of the Ethiopic Psalter.**—Through the kindness of Mr. Hall N. Jackson, of Philadelphia, I have had the privilege of examining one of the few Ethiopic manuscripts that have found their way to the United States. The manuscript was given to the Rev. Augustus Jackson, the father of the present owner, by his nephew, a naval officer, who found it in a jar in some place in the Holy Land.

The manuscript turns out to be a well written copy of the regular Ethiopic Psalter. The parchment leaves are 7 by 6½ inches in size, five double leaves or twenty pages being stitched together, and eighteen such parts constituting the whole book. The work is thus one of 360 pages. The contents are chiefly the Ethiopic Psalter. This means that not only the Psalms themselves are given, but also certain extracts from both the Old and New Testaments and also from the Apocrypha, which are generally found in connection with the Psalms in Ethiopic manuscripts. These go by the technical name of "Songs of the Prophets and

their Prayers." In this manuscript, as also in those from which Ludolph prepared his excellent edition of the Ethiopic Psalms, contains the Prayer of Moses (Ex. xv.); the Second Prayer of Moses (Deut. xxxii.); the Third Prayer of Moses (continuation of second, from v. 22 on); Prayer of Hannah for Samuel (1 Sam. ii.); Prayer of Hezekiah, the king of the Jews (Isa. xxxviii. 10 sqq.); Prayer of Manasseh, a piece from the Apocrypha; the Prayer of the Prophet Jonah (Jon. ii.); the Prayer of Azariah, from the Apocrypha; the Prayer of the three Children, also Apocrypha; a Blessing, from the same source; the Prayer of the Prophet Habakkuk (Hab. iii.); the Prayer of Isaiah the Prophet (Isa. xxvi.); the Prayer of Mary (Lk. i.); the Prayer of Zacharias (Lk. i.); the Prayer of Simeon (Lk. ii.); the whole of Canticles. Ludolph especially remarks (Psalter, p. 18), that these additions were found in every manuscript of the Ethiopic Psalter of which he had any knowledge.

But our manuscript contains even more. The last forty-one pages are taken up by a typically Ethiopic panegyric on the Virgin Mary. It is written in the same hand as the first part and has undergone the same revision, and accordingly could not be merely by accident bound together with the Psalter. Its object could be only edification, although it seems to be arranged also for a responsive service. It differs externally from the Psalter in being written in three columns on each page, while the latter is in only one. The manuscript itself is a good one. It was, however, not such originally. A second has gone over every word and has carefully revised the whole. Sometimes whole words and even lines have been erased and a better text inserted; at other places a missing letter has been added or a superfluous letter removed. Only now and then has an error escaped the corrector. This makes the manuscript rather a valuable one, and one that can be used to advantage should a new edition of the Ethiopic Psalms be needed. The evidences that it is an old manuscript are at hand. The endless changes and exchanges in the gutturals, which are characteristic of later manuscripts, are wanting to a marked degree; in a great majority of cases the guttural demanded by the etymology of the word is retained. The vowels, too, are carefully written, only at times does the short *a* usurp the place of the long *a*, especially in the plural, and only occasionally is the sixth or fundamental form of the consonant used for some other form.

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**An Arabic Coin.**—Recently Mr. Charles G. Nicholson, the Baltimore banker, quite well known as a numismatist, came to me with a beautifully inscribed large gold coin, for which he had not been able to obtain any decipherment. I told Mr. Nicholson that the inscription was in early interlaced Arabic, and extremely difficult to resolve, but if he would leave the coin for study, I would promise to obtain him the solution.

Lately, I had been reading Arabic with Prof. Nahoum Moucarzel, a native Libanian, late professor at the Jesuit university in Syria (Beyrouth) and at the Jesuit college in Cairo, Egypt, to whom I proposed the problem. The gentleman answered that he could not make out the inscription, as it was in the early interlaced Arabic and very difficult to translate. I suggested to him the word "Allah," God, which he recognized, and the matter ended there for the time. A few days later I said to the gentleman, "Come, we must make out the inscription of this coin, no matter how much time or trouble it takes. We cannot let a difficulty overcome us." We set to work.

Tentative results were at first obtained, and finally the complete solution, thanks to his very perfect knowledge, not merely of modern Arabic, but of the more perfect forms of literary Arabic. The coin is larger than a silver shilling or twenty-five cent piece, round, but coming to a point at one end. The inscription on either side is included in a square of bars with dots. Outside the square runs the date and the name of the Caliph.

The plate gives the transcription into modern Arabic letters. Holding the



point in the left hand with the Arabic letters in proper position, the translation runs thus. On one side, read: "To God, who created the greatest of his dear friends on earth, Mahomet. The Caliphate." On the other: "There is no other God but God, and Mahomet is his Prophet. 981. 212. Caliphate of Abdalla." The coin would then be of the year 827 of the Christian era. The dates are given in numbers of the Hegira. The year 622 of the Christian era was the beginning of the Hegira. Counting the months at 11-12, we obtain the dates corresponding as follows:



Number of the coin, 981; date of coinage, 212 A. H., 827 A. D.; beginning of Caliphate of Abdalla, 198 A. H., 813 A. D.; end of reign of Abdalla, 218 A. H., 833 A. D.; year of the Hegira, 198 to 218, reign of Abdalla; Christian year, 813 to 833, reign of Abdallah.

The monarch spoken of on this coin is Abdalla, son of the great Haroun al Rachid of Arabian Nights' fame. Abdalla followed the footsteps of his ancestors in the love of the arts and sciences. In his youth he studied literature and jurisprudence. As he grew older he studied philosophy and astronomy.

His reign was troubled by the revolt of his brother Amine against him and also of his uncle Abraham, son of the Mahdi, to whom Abdalla shows clemency and exceeding generosity. He warred against many princes and finally died in war. His subjects followed him in the study of the sciences. He translated Euclid, gathered around him the savants of his time and encouraged all who had talent. He wished to conquer by knowledge rather than by the sword, and often said one must not follow the example of the Chinese and the Turks who know only how to do manual labor. But as man ought to be worthy of his creation in the likeness of God, and as the soul is very noble, we must elevate ourselves by the study of philosophy and science to the height of the soul, and not lower ourselves to the earth in obeying the inclinations of the body. The Turks were the mamelukes or slaves of these caliphes of the Abassides. After their revolts the Turks became the conquerors, and the Arabians are now the subjects of the Turks.

J. F. X. O'CONOR, S. J.

**The Use of the Tenses in Hebrew Narrative.**—In *HEBRAICA*, July and October, 1886, were published some notes of mine on the above subject, including a classified table of the occurrences of the different tenses in the Hexateuch. I should now like to put before the readers of *HEBRAICA* a similar table, embracing, with the exception of a few isolated paragraphs, all the narrative portions of the Hebrew Old Testament. My object in the former and present notes is simply to state and classify a limited group of facts, and in a very humble way to illustrate the present theory and nomenclature, not to assail them. I should have thought that this was evident from the general tenor of the notes. But Prof. Curtiss in the 1887 volume of "Current Discussions in Theology" credits me with setting "to work to defend the old terminology of 'past and future' by an analysis of the Pentateuch and Joshua." I am not sufficiently presumptuous to enter upon this formidable undertaking, and if I did I should not depend on so absurdly inadequate a method. I felt then and still feel that the modern theory is often stated in works of great authority and wide use in a way that misleads the student as to the actual usage of the tense, and I believe that it may be well to call attention to the actual facts of the case.

By way of explanation of the accompanying table I may repeat the following explanations from my former article, pointing out, however, that for the sake of compactness columns 2 and 3 have been combined and also 5 and 6.

*Perfect.*

1. Cases where the Hebrew Perfect may be translated as a Past Tense without any difficulty as regards context.
2. Cases where such a translation is difficult.
3. Cases where such a translation seems rendered impossible by the context.

*Imperfect with Waw Consec.*

4. } As in case of Perfect, substituting "Imperfect with Waw Consec." for
5. } "Perfect."
6. }

*Imperfect.*

7. Cases where the Hebrew Imperfect may be translated by an English Future, Present, or Subjunctive, or by *may*, *can*, etc.
8. Cases where the Imperfect has a frequentative sense.
9. Cases where it seems necessary to translate the Imperfect by the English Past Imperfect or other past tense.

*Perfect with Waw Consec.*

11. } As in case of Imperfect, substituting "Perfect with Waw Consec." for
12. } Imperfect.

It will be obvious that to be perfectly sure that no errors from inadvertence have crept in would require much time, more time than I have had at my disposal. But this is perhaps less important than it would be in some other cases, as the proportion between the numbers in columns 1, 4, 7, 10 and those in the other columns is too great to be affected by mere inadvertencies.

	Perfect.		Imperfect with Waw Consec.		Imperfect.			Perfect with Waw Consec.		
	1.	2 & 3	4.	5 & 6	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.
Hexateuch.....	2827	6	4829	2	4116	51	33	2584	46	22
Judges and Ruth.....	507	3	1279	..	317	..	..	103	10	6
Samuel.....	1061	11	2386	1	753	36	36	248	44	27
Kings.....	1268	17	2242	..	562	27	18	239	12	44
Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah..	1328	2	1799	1	434	29	10	113	7	34
Esther.....	141	2	158	..	64	4	..	6	..	4
Job I., II., XLII. 7 to end.....	37	..	84	..	12	2	..	1	6	2
Isaiah, parts of XXXVI. to XXXIX.	41	..	65	..	36	..	1	12	..	..
Jeremiah XXXVI., XLIII., LI.....	173	..	200	..	113	4	2	52	1	7
Jonah I., II. 2, II. 11 to end.....	25	1	79	..	20	..	..	3	..	..
Daniel I.-II. 4.....	12	..	28	..	8	..	..	1	..	..
	7420	42	13149	4	6435	153	100	3362	126	146

On the whole the proportions of the different numbers in the fuller table are so similar to those in the smaller that any comment on them would be largely a repetition of what I have already said. The increase in the proportion of the numbers in columns 8 and 9 and 11 and 12 to those in columns 7 and 10 would necessitate a modification of some of the results obtained from the Hexateuch ; but I prefer to reserve anything I might say on this and other points, till I can also deal with the non-narrative sections.

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## ➤BOOK NOTICES.◀

### KRALL, TYRE AND SIDON.\*

This well-written and instructive pamphlet we would most earnestly recommend to all interested in the history of the ancient Orient. The writer has most carefully compared all the notices of these two cities and of the other Phœnician towns found in Egyptian texts with those of the Greek historians. He comes to the conclusion that the oldest Phœnician town known to the Egyptians was *Byblos*,

known in Egyptian as Kapuna (𓆎 𓆏 𓆑 𓆒) an exact transliteration

of the Semitic גבל, the Greek βύβλος, which plays a part already in the Egyptian mythology. It is also mentioned in texts dating from the reign of Thutmosis III. (reigned 1480-1430 B. C.) and in Pap. Anastasi I. a text dating from the reign of Ramses II. (reigned 1300-1230 B. C.). Another town mentioned in the Thutmosis texts and Pap. An. I. is *Aradus*, Semit. ארדר, Eg. dema en

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His fourth section treats of the Cheta. He justly warns us of speaking of a mighty Cheta empire. The strength of the Cheta in the times of Ramses II. lay in the fact that their kingdom stood at the head of a mighty coalition of Syrian states directed against Ramses. The danger over, the coalition dissolved, and the Cheta kingdom again returned to its old position. When the Assyrians invaded Syria the Cheta, whom they called Hatti, were a small people. It is, then, unnecessary to assume that the kingdom was destroyed by the above-mentioned invasion that seriously menaced Egypt.

In conclusion he gives a sketch of the history of Tyre and Sidon, and touches the question of etymology of the Greek names. The name of Sidon, צִדֹן, came to the Greeks directly from the Sidonians, while that of Tyre, צֵר, came to them from Egypt—where it was Tjar—hence Gr. *τίρος*.

The first and second excursi touch questions in Herodotus, while the third relates to an Eg. inscription.

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### THE "Απαξ Λεγόμενα OF THE MINOR PROPHETS.<sup>1</sup>

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#### OBADIAH.

Verse 6. מִצְפְּנָיו—τά κερυμμένα αὐτοῦ—*abscondita ejus*—his hidden treasures.

Ges.<sup>10</sup> translates "hidden places," Keil agrees with the R. V.

Verse 9. מִקְטֹל—διὰ τὴν σφαγὴν—*propter interfectionem*—by slaughter.

Henderson, following the LXX., connects this with verse 10, which is certainly smoother than to join with verse 9. This word is curiously the only derivative of our paradigm word קָטַל.

Verse 12. נִכְרָו—ἀλλοτριῶν—*perigrinationis ejus*—his disaster (*mar.* that he was made a stranger).

The parallelism makes the meaning "his disaster" more suitable. Henderson prefers a rendering similar to the margin of the R. V.

#### JONAH.

I. 5. סְפִינָה—τοῦ πλοίου—*navis*—ship.

Root סָפַן "cover."

III. 2. הִקְרִיאתָ—τὸ κήρυγμα—*praedicationem*—preaching.

VI. 6. קִיָּיִן—κολοκύνθη—*hederam*—gourd—(*mar.* *Palma Christi*).

The margin is by far the best rendering.

VI. 8. חֲרִישִׁית—συγκαλοντι—*urenti*—sultry.

#### MICAH.

I. 8. גִּשְׁלִיל—ἀνυπόδετος—*spoliatus*—stripped.

The K'thîbh is to be preferred.

<sup>1</sup> Continued from the January-April number.



- I. 11. עִמְדָתוֹ — πλῆλῆν ὁδόντης — *quae stetit sibi met*—stay thereof (*mar.* standing place).
- I. 13. רָתַם — ψόφος — *tumultus*—bind.  
The LXX. and Vulg. have misunderstood this word, the latter giving a mistaken rendering of the whole clause. The word is a syn. of אָסַר (cf. Exod. xiv. 6).
- II. 3. רוֹמָה — ὀρθοὶ ἐξαίφνης — *superbi*—haughtily.
- IV. 7. הִנְחָלָהּ — τῇν ἀπωσμένην — *quae laboraverat*—her that was cast off.  
A denom. in Ni. from the adv. הֵלָּא . The Vulg. may have read נִתְלָאָה .
- VI. 14. וַיִּשְׁחַךְ — συσκατάσει — *humiliatio sua*—thy humiliation (*mar.* emptiness).  
The LXX. apparently derive the word from חָשַׁךְ . Aq. translates καταφυτεύσω “I will plant,” possibly deriving from שָׁוַח . Sym. ἀναφθερεῖς “perish,” perhaps taking the word from שָׁחַת . The ground meaning of these words is, however, the same, viz., that of “sinking down.”
- VII. 3. יַעֲבֹתוּהָ — ἐξελοῦμαι — *conturbaverunt*—thus they weave it together.  
The LXX. connect this word with the next verse.
- VII. 4. מִמְסֹכָה — (ἐπὶ κανόνος ?) — *quasi spina de sepe*—than a thornhedge.  
Ges.<sup>10</sup> gives שֹׁךְ “to hedge,” as the verb from which our form is a dialectical variation, cf. Isa. v. 5. The LXX. seem to omit the word altogether.

## NAHUM.

- II. 4. מִתְלַעִים — ἐμπαίζοντας — *in coccineis*—are in scarlet.  
A Pu. denominative from תֹּלַעַץ . The LXX. read מִתְעַלְלִים (Henderson).  
— בָּאֵשׁ-פִּלְדָּת — αἱ ἥλται — *igneae habenae*—flash with steel (*mar.* are with fire of steel).  
The LXX. separate בָּאֵשׁ from our word and join it with the preceding.  
The meaning “steel” is assured from the Syr. and Arab.
- הִרְעֵלּוּ — θορυβηθήσονται — *agitatores consopiti sunt*—shaken terribly.
- II. 8. וְהִצֵּב — ἡ ἐπόστασις — (*miles captivus?*)—and Huzzab (*mar.* and it is decreed).  
The rendering of the American Revisers, who substitute margin for text, is in my judgment incomparably the best.
- II. 11. בֹּקָה — ἐκτιναγμός — *dissipata est*—empty.  
— מְבֹקָה — ἀνατιναγμός — *scissa*—void.  
Cf. for these two words תְּהוּ וּבְהוּ , Gen. i. 2.
- וַפֵּק — ἐπόλυσσις — *dissolutio*—and (knees) smite together.
- II. 13. נִרְתָּיו — σκῆμνοις αὐτοῦ — *catulis suis*—his whelps.  
נִרְי occurs in Jer. li. 38. Elsewhere the forms of this word are from נִיר .
- III. 2. דָּהָר — διδωντος — *frementis*—prancing, cf. דְּהָרוֹת Jud. v. 22.
- III. 17. מִנְזִרֵיךְ — ὁ συμμικτός σου — *custodes tui*—thy crowned ones.  
The Vulg. seems to justify Keil's conjecture that this and the following terms denote military companies.

III. 17. כְּנוּב—ὡς ἀκρίδες—*quasi locustae*—as the swarms (sc. of locusts).

Cf. גִּבִּי i. c. גִּבִּי Am. vii. 1.

III. 19. כְּהָה—ιασις—*obscura*—assuaging.

Cf. כְּהָה Lev. xiii. 6f.

#### HABAKKUK.

I. 4. מִעֵקֶל—διεστραμμένον—*perversum*—perverted.

I. 9. מִנְפֶּת—ἀνθεστηκόντας—*facies eorum ventus urens*—their faces are set eagerly (*mar.* the eagerness (*or* assembling) of their faces).

Sym. πρόσσους. The Vulg. either omits altogether, or else perhaps translates by “*urens*.” Ges.<sup>10</sup> derives from the root גָּמַם “collect together.” Henderson prefers the Vss. which are unanimous (if we except the Vulg.) in a rendering like “aspect.”

I. 10. מִשְׁחָק לוֹ—παίγνια—*ridiculi ejus erunt*—a derision unto him.

I. 15, 16. מִכְמֶרְתּוֹ—σαγήναις (in v. 16 ἀμφιβλήστροφ occurs where we should expect σαγήνη)—*rete suum*—drag.

The root is כָּמַר “hide,” cf. מִכְמֶרְתּוֹ Is. xix. 8.

II. 6. עֲבֻטִי—τὸν κλοιὸν αὐτοῦ στιβαρῶς—*densum lutum*—pledges.

Cf. עֲבֹט Dt. xxiv. 10. There may be a play upon words here, in which case the rendering of the Vulg. is not ungrounded. The word is an especially strong intensive.

II. 11. וְכַפִּים—κάνθαρος—*lignum quod inter juncturas aedificiorum est*—beam.

Syr. כַּפִּי; Targ. מְקַבֵּל; Aq. μάζα (“what is baked,” “a brick”); Sym., Theod., Quinta σύνδεσμος; Sexta and Septima “*Vermis*” σκόλας; Ges.<sup>10</sup> “cross-beam.”

II. 15. מְעוֹרֵיהֶם—σῆλαια αὐτῶν—*nuditatem ejus*—their nakedness.

Aq. γυμνωσιν. The LXX. appear to have read מַעֲרָה.

II. 16. קִיקְלוֹן—ἀτιμία—*vomitus ignominiae*—foul shame.

Probably a play upon words similar to עֲבֻטִי. The Vulg. treats this also as a compound. It is a strong intensive for קִלְקִלוֹן.

III. 4. חֲבִיּוֹן—ἀγάπησιν κραταίαν—*abscondita est*—hiding.

III. 6. וַיִּמְדַּר—ἐσαλεύθη—*mensus est*—measured (*mar.* shook).

One Greek Vs. reads διεμέτρησε. It is better to take this with the LXX. as Pōlēl of מוֹד i. e. מוֹט, and adopt the margin of the R. V.

III. 10. רוֹם—ὑψος—*altitudo*—on high.

Cf. רוֹמָה Mic. ii. 3.

III. 14. פְּרָוִי—δυναστῶν—*bellatorum ejus*—his warriors (*mar.* hordes *or* villagers).

One Greek Vs. reads τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν. The rendering “ruler,” which some still choose, is as old as the LXX., but cf. פְּרָזוֹת (Ex. xxxviii. 11; Esth. ix. 19) “the plain country;” פְּרָיִי (Deut. iii. 5) “dweller in the plain.” The “warriors” of the R. V. text seems too strong a word, “hordes” is better.

- III. 14. **עֲלִיצָתָם**—χαλινούς αὐτῶν—*exultatio eorum*—their rejoicing.

The root is **עֲלִץ** “rejoice.”

- III. 17. **בִּרְפָּתִים**—ἐπὶ φάτναις—*in praeseptibus*—in the stalls.

#### ZEPHANIAH.

- I. 11. **נָטִילִי**—οἱ ἐπηρμένοι—*involuti*—that were laden.

- II. 9. **מִמֶּשֶׁק**—δαμασκός—*siccitas*—a possession.

Cf. **מֶשֶׁק** Gen. xv. 2 where the LXX. read *Μασέκ*, from **מֶשֶׁק** “possess.”

- **וּמִכְרָה**—θιμονία—*acervi*—salt pits.

- II. 14. **אֲרֶזָה**—κέδρος—*robus ejus*—the cedar work.

A collective noun.

- III. 4. **בְּנֵרוֹת**—καταφρονηταί—*infideles*—treacherous.

An abstract use of the Qāl act. part. of **בָּנָה**.

- III. 10. **עֲתָרֵי**—προσδέξομαι (ἐν διεσπαρμένοις μου)—*supplices mei*—my suppliants.

Sym. *supplicatum mihi*.

#### HAGGAI.

- I. 13. **בְּמַלְאָכוֹת**—ἐν ἀγγέλοις—*de nunciis*—message.

Another Greek Vs. ἀποστολῶν.

#### ZECHARIAH.

- I. 7. **שִׁבְט**—Σαβὰτ—*Sabbath*—Shebat.

Assyrian equivalent šabātu. Henderson inclines to derive this word from the same root as **שִׁבְט**, thus making the name refer to the springing forth of plant life.

- I. 8. **שָׂרָקִים**—ψαροὶ [καὶ ποικίλοι]—*vari*—sorrel.

Aq. ξανθοί (?) From an unused root “to be deep red,” Ges.<sup>10</sup>

- II. 12. **בְּבִבְתָּ**—τῆς κόρης—*pupillam*—apple.

Cf. Latin, *pupa*; English, *baby*, Ges.<sup>10</sup>

- III. 3, 4. **צֹאִים**—τὰ βυπαρά—*sordida*—filthy.

- IV. 2. **וְנִלְהָ**—τὸ λαμπάδιον—*lampas ejus*—its bowl.

The LXX. would indicate that the proper reading was the fem. **נִלְהָ**, which appears in iv. 3.

- IV. 7. **הָרֵאשִׁיָּה**—τῆς κληρονομίας—*primarium*—head (stone).

Aq. πρωτεύοντα; Sym. ἀκρον; Theod., πρῶτον.

- IV. 12. **צִנְתָּרוֹת**—μυξωτήρων—*rostra*—spouts.

Sym. ἐπιχυτήρων. Perhaps a **ת** formation from **צָנַר**, in which a transposition has taken place on account of the sibilant.

- VI. 3, 7. **אֲמָצִים**—ψαροὶ—*fortis, robustissimi*—bay (*mar. strong*).

Aq. κρατεροί, [but Wright, Zechariah and his Prophecies, gives Aq. in verse 7 as πυρροί, and so the R. V. margin; Sym., συνεσφιγμένοι; Theod., ισχυροί]. It

seems more natural to take this word from אָמץ and translate with the R. V. margin, than to derive it from a root meaning "to be red."

- IX. 8. מַצְבָּה—ἀνάστημα—*ex his, qui militant*—against the army (*mar.* as a garrison).

Sym., *κωλύων στρατείας*. The word is generally taken to be another writing for צָבָא with מָן, but I can see no reason against considering it to be another form of מַצְבָּה "garrison," 1 Sam. xiv. 12.

- IX. 12. לְבַצְרוֹן—ἐν ὀχυρώμασι—*ad munitionem*—stronghold.

From בצַר "cut off."

- IX. 16. מִתְנוֹסְסוֹת—κυλίνονται—*elevabuntur*—lifted up (*mar.* glittering upon). Ges.<sup>10</sup> takes this from נָסס, cognate with נִים "to vibrate," hence "glitter." "Lift up" is the meaning of a homonymous root in Ps. lx. 6.

- XI. 14. הָאֶחָה—τὴν κατάσχεσιν—*germanitatem*—brotherhood.

Another Greek Vs. has τὴν διαθήκην. The LXX. probably read הָאֶחָה.

- XI. 15. אֱוִלִי—ἀπίρου—*stulti*—foolish.

Aq., Sym., Theod., ἀφρονος.

- XI. 16. הַנְּעָר—τὸ ἐσκορπισμένον—*dispersum*—those that be scattered (*mar.* the young).

Root נָעַר "shake." The text of the R. V. is to be preferred to the margin.

- XII. 3. מַעֲמָסָה—καταπατούμενον—*oneris*—burdensome.

- XII. 5. אֲמָצָה—ἐνρήσομεν—*confortentur*—strength.

Aq., *καρτέρεσον*. MSS. and Vss. differ much as to the pointing of this word. One MS., according to Baer, reads אֲמָצָה Pi. imv., and this Aq. follows, another אֲמָצָה, while the LXX. seem to have read אֲמָצָה for אֲמָצָה, and then to have freely rendered by the plural. But it is better to point as a feminine Segholate equivalent to אֲמָץ (Job xvii. 9).

- XIV. 6. וְקָפְאוּ [וְקָפְאוּ] K<sup>t</sup>hibh—καὶ πάγος—*et gelu*—and gloom (*mar.* following K<sup>t</sup>hibh, shall contract themselves).

Syr. ܩܦܐ (Henderson); Sym., καὶ πάγος.

Wright prefers the K<sup>t</sup>hibh וְקָפְאוּ, but the testimony of the Vss. is strongly in favor of the Q<sup>r</sup>i. The root is undoubtedly קָפָא "to draw together," and the noun (Q<sup>r</sup>i) probably means "thick darkness."

- XIV. 10. וְרָאִמָּה—ῥαυιά δὲ—*et exaltabitur*—and she shall be lifted up.

Aq., Sym., *ἐνὺψήσῃ*. Some MSS. read רָאִמָּה (cf. קָאם Hos. x. 14). It is not necessary to derive this from a root רָאָם cognate with רוּם. It is probably a different and fuller spelling of the latter.

- XIV. 20. מִצְלֹת—τὸν χαλινόν—*frenum*—the bells.

Aq., Theod., *βίβον*; Sym., *περίπατον σύσκιον*. Cf. מִצְלָה Zech. i. 8. The root must be צָלַל "tinkle." (Cf. מִצְלִיתִים "cymbals.")

## MALACHI.

- I. 3. לַתְּנוֹת—*eis δώματα—in dracones—to the jackals.*  
 Aq., *σειρήνες* (Sirens). Sym., Theod., *eis ἀνεπίβαρα* “unto inaccessible places;”  
 Ges.<sup>10</sup> derives from תָּן, of which the masc. plu. תַּנִּים occurs a number of  
 times. Henderson prefers to render “habitations” for the sake of the par-  
 allelism.
- II. 14. חֲבֵרְךָ—*κοινωνός σου—particeps tua—thy companion.*  
 From חָבַר “join together.”
- III. 14. קִרְיָיִת—*ikérai—tristes—mournfully (mar. in mourning apparel).*  
 Root קָרַר “be dark, or soiled.”
- III. 21. וְעִסְוֹתֵם—*καὶ καταπατήσετε—calcabitis—and ye shall tread down.*

## A SYRIAC LEXICOGRAPHICAL TRACT.

BY PROFESSOR R. J. H. GOTTHEIL, PH. D.,

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At the meeting of the American Oriental Society in May, 1887, I read a paper on a manuscript of a Syriac Lexicographical treatise belonging to the Union Theological Seminary in New York.<sup>1</sup> It contains the first two of the treatises published by George Hoffmann in his *Opuscula Nestoriana*.<sup>2</sup> I had reference to the first of these two treatises, containing a compilation of lexicographical remarks by 'Nānīšō' of Hadhyabh<sup>3</sup> and Honein bar Ishāq.<sup>4</sup> A description of the MS. will be found in the *Proceedings*.

The text of this treatise as published by Hoffmann is notoriously corrupt in many places. This is the fate of most of the Syriac lexicographical MSS. The scribes did not hesitate to add all sorts of notes, culled from various sources; or to cut out those which, for some reason, were objectionable.<sup>5</sup> Hoffmann's text, in this way, often omits that which gives such treatises as these their peculiar value—the careful Mäsoretic notice of the vowel and other diacritical points of a word. As long as the beautiful Syriac Mäsores books lie unheeded and unpublished in the libraries of Europe,<sup>6</sup> these compilations and those of later authors are of considerable value. A larger and more careful recension of this treatise of 'Nānīšō' and Honein seems to have been current at one time, which contained all these Mäsoretic statements. Hoffmann's text in many places represents the shorter recension.

Part of the larger recension I found in MS. Sachau, No. 72, belonging to the Berlin Royal Library and published at the end of my edition of the Grammar of Eliā of Sōbhā.<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to note that the Union Seminary MS. also contains the longer recension. Both these MSS. go back to the same original. Nearly all the additions to Hoffmann's text contained in MS. Sachau 72 are to be found in the Union Seminary MS. Compare with the extracts in Eliā of Sōbhā, pp. 60–67, the variants to Hoffmann, pp. 38, 21; 39, 1, 17, 20, 21; 40, 1, 2, 5; 41, 1, etc., cited below.

Some of the explanations given by Honein have also found their way into the Grammar of Eliā of Tīrhān.<sup>8</sup> But a part of those mentioned by Eliā are not to be

<sup>1</sup> Proceedings, vol. XIII., p. 134.    <sup>2</sup> Kiel, 1880.    <sup>3</sup> About 660 A. D.    <sup>4</sup> About 860 A. D.

<sup>5</sup> See Hoffmann's *Preface*, p. xiv; Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, xxxv., p. 494.

<sup>6</sup> Gottheil, *Zur Textkritik der P'sittā*, Mittheilungen des Akademisch-Orientalischen Vereins zu Berlin, No. 2, 1889, p. 22. Nöldeke, *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 2d March, 1889, col. 297.

<sup>7</sup> *A treatise on Syriac Grammar*, etc., p. 61 seq.

<sup>8</sup> Baethgen, *Syrische Grammatik des Mar Elias von Tīrhān*. Leipzig, 1880, pp. 43–46.

found in the text as published by Hoffmann. Nöldeke supposed<sup>9</sup> that they originally belonged in the text, and his supposition is borne out by their occurrence in the Union Seminary MS.<sup>10</sup> This latter text, however, is by no means a good one. It is full of gaps, many of which I do not hesitate to refer to careless and ignorant scribes. The MS. bears every evidence of having been carelessly written.

The note to p. 10, 11 (Hoffmann) is interesting, as it shows that the quotation is taken from Eusebius. Hoffmann<sup>11</sup> had already compared Lagarde, *Prætermis-sorum Libri duo*, p. 244 seq.

There is another MS. in Berlin containing texts similar to those in the *Opus-cula Nestoriana*,<sup>12</sup> of which I hope to give an account on some other occasion.

Either the writer of some of the additions in the Union Seminary MS., or the author from whose treatise they were taken, must have been an inhabitant of Māhōzā.<sup>13</sup> In speaking of a certain grammatical form, he says that "the inhabitants of Māhōzā do not use it, but the people of Hira do." This is interesting for the dialectology of Syriac. If the lexicographers are to be trusted certain words and certain phrases were used only in certain districts of the Syriac writing and speaking world. It is unfortunate that attention has not been directed to these interesting differences. Since Larsow published his excellent little treatise in 1841,<sup>14</sup> with the exception of an article by Duval,<sup>15</sup> nothing has been done in this direction. We shall probably know more about this subject when Duval brings out his promised edition of Bar Bahlūl. For the present, I jot down, from notes made without any view to publication, the names of the places or regions not mentioned by Larsow in which the grammarians and lexicographers note some peculiarity.<sup>16</sup>

Gazīra.....Payne Smith, cols. 26 s. v. ܓܙܝܪܐ ; 1185 s. v. ܓܙܝܪܐ ; 1544 s. v. ܓܙܝܪܐ cf. col. 701.

Babylonians..Payne Smith, col. 701 s. v. ܒܒܝܠܝܐ

Beth Garmai..Payne Smith, cols. 1137 s. v. ܒܝܬ ܓܪܡܝܐ ; 136 s. v. ܒܝܬ ܓܪܡܝܐ

Maīšān.....Payne Smith, col. 1414 s. v. ܡܝܫܢܐ ; cf. col. 2098 s. v. ܡܝܫܢܐ<sup>17</sup>

Lebanon.....Payne Smith, col. 2208 s. v. ܠܒܢܢ [= Bar 'Ebhṛāyā, grammar, I., p. 54, 26].

<sup>9</sup> ZDMG, xxxv., p. 494.

<sup>10</sup> The explanations given in Baethgen, pp. 44, 11, 16; 55, 6, are found again in our MS. Cf. also Baethgen, p. 46, 11 with the variants to Hoffmann, p. 33, 22-32, 1, and Nöldeke, *loc cit.*

<sup>11</sup> p. xiv.

<sup>12</sup> Sachau, No. 130, See *Kurzes Verzeichniss*, p. 12.

<sup>13</sup> Proceedings, p. 185.

<sup>14</sup> *De dialectorum lingue Syriacae reliquiis scriptis* Dr. F. Larsow, Berlin, 1841.

<sup>15</sup> *Sur la contrée araméenne, appelée pays supérieur, etc.* Journal Asiatique, Feb.-March, 1884.

<sup>16</sup> A full collection of the words cited by Bar 'Alī and Bar Bahlūl from the Mathlā dhārāmāyē, which Löw has shown (ZDMG, xxxi., p. 535 seq.) not to be identical with our *Katīlāq and Damnaq*, would also be interesting. To those mentioned by Löw (*loc cit.*) add Payne Smith, 1671, s. v. kebhtā; 325, s. v. estōkā; 2690, s. v. s'ar sephthā; 2043, s. v. mūsardā; 2691, s. v. sa'rā sūmakā, where "dhārāmāyē" must be added; 1716, s. v. kūšū; 2641, s. v. salwā.

<sup>17</sup> Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 27. Lowe, *The Fragment of Talmud Babil P'sachm*, p. 8.

















מִשְׁכָּן. תְּהִי מִשְׁכָּן. אִם הָיָה מִשְׁכָּן לִפְנֵי חֹפֶיךָ אֲנִי מִשְׁכָּן. + תִּכְלֹץ. 15.  
 מִשְׁכָּן שֶׁמֶן אֶרֶץ. אִם הָיָה מִשְׁכָּן חֹפֶיךָ אֲנִי. מִשְׁכָּן שֶׁמֶן אֶרֶץ. אִם הָיָה  
 וְחִלְמִי אִם הָיָה מִשְׁכָּן. חֹפֶיךָ. מִשְׁכָּן אֶרֶץ. אִם הָיָה מִשְׁכָּן יִשְׁכַּל  
 מִשְׁכָּן. בְּיָמֶיךָ חֲסִידִי אֶרֶץ חֹפֶיךָ. אֶרֶץ אֶרֶץ מִשְׁכָּן חֹפֶיךָ \* אִם הָיָה  
 בְּמִשְׁכָּן. יִשְׁכַּל וְחִלְמִי חֹפֶיךָ חֲסִידִי \* אִם הָיָה מִשְׁכָּן חֹפֶיךָ אֶרֶץ חֹפֶיךָ  
 22. | 22. omitted. | from מִשְׁכָּן to מִשְׁכָּן | מִשְׁכָּן לֹא זָכַר חֹפֶיךָ. מ. | לֹא מִשְׁכָּן.

20,1 omitted. | 23. from מִשְׁכָּן to מִשְׁכָּן | מִשְׁכָּן שֶׁמֶן אֶרֶץ \* [מִשְׁכָּן] | מִשְׁכָּן.

אִם הָיָה מִשְׁכָּן אֶרֶץ. + [מִשְׁכָּן] | 2. מִשְׁכָּן, first gloss in this section | 20. 1.  
 אֶרֶץ \* [מִשְׁכָּן] מִשְׁכָּן. מִשְׁכָּן חֹפֶיךָ. 2/3. | מִשְׁכָּן חֹפֶיךָ \* [מִשְׁכָּן].  
 3. | חֹפֶיךָ. אִם הָיָה מִשְׁכָּן חֹפֶיךָ. אֶרֶץ חֹפֶיךָ חֹפֶיךָ. מִשְׁכָּן.  
 for this line MS. has (cf. 19,15) אִם הָיָה מִשְׁכָּן. אִם הָיָה מִשְׁכָּן. אִם הָיָה מִשְׁכָּן.  
 מִשְׁכָּן אֶרֶץ חֹפֶיךָ. מִשְׁכָּן חֹפֶיךָ. אֶרֶץ חֹפֶיךָ. אִם הָיָה מִשְׁכָּן. אִם הָיָה מִשְׁכָּן.  
 | >וְחִלְמִי. 5. | מִשְׁכָּן חֹפֶיךָ \* אִם הָיָה מִשְׁכָּן חֹפֶיךָ. מִשְׁכָּן חֹפֶיךָ.  
 מִשְׁכָּן חֹפֶיךָ. 7. | מִשְׁכָּן חֹפֶיךָ. 6. | מִשְׁכָּן חֹפֶיךָ. 6. | מִשְׁכָּן חֹפֶיךָ.  
 חֹפֶיךָ. מִשְׁכָּן חֹפֶיךָ. 10. | חֹפֶיךָ. 8. | מִשְׁכָּן חֹפֶיךָ. \*  
 מִשְׁכָּן חֹפֶיךָ. אֶרֶץ חֹפֶיךָ. אֶרֶץ חֹפֶיךָ. חֹפֶיךָ. חֹפֶיךָ.  
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 + אֶרֶץ. 13. | מִשְׁכָּן. 12. | מִשְׁכָּן חֹפֶיךָ. אִם הָיָה מִשְׁכָּן חֹפֶיךָ.  
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 חֹפֶיךָ. | מִשְׁכָּן. | מִשְׁכָּן חֹפֶיךָ. \* | 14. | מִשְׁכָּן.













# CORRECTIONS TO THE TEXT OF THE BLACK OBELISK OF SHALMANESER II.

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The historical inscriptions that have been found of Shalmaneser II., or more properly Šulmanašarid,<sup>1</sup> may be divided, for the sake of convenience, like those of Tiglathpileser II., Esarhaddon, Sargon, and others of the Assyrian kings,<sup>2</sup> into two classes, (1) annals proper, and (2) "glorification" inscriptions ("Prunkinschriften"). To the first class belong (a) the so-called black obelisk found at Koujundschik, (b) the two inscriptions on the two bulls from the central palace of Koujundschik, and (c) the fragment of which we have only the squeeze made by George Smith.<sup>3</sup> To the second, (a) the monolith of Kurkh, (b) the inscriptions on the bronze gates of Balawat, (c) the inscription on the pedestal of the statue found at Kileh-shergat, to which we might add as a subdivision of the second class, the shorter inscriptions on bricks.<sup>4</sup>

Of these inscriptions, the first rank must be accorded to the black obelisk, and for the reason that it covers a greater period of Shalmaneser's reign than any other. Whereas the bull inscriptions mention nothing later than the 18th year, the monolith closes with the 6th year, and the Balawat breaks off with the 9th year, the obelisk summarizes the events to the end of the 31st year, bringing us to within three years of the king's death.

It is clear, then, that for a study of the reign of Shalmaneser II. the black obelisk must form the starting-point, and that, in direct connection with it, the other inscriptions may best be studied, grouping themselves around it as so many additional fragmentary manuscripts would around the more complete one which we hit upon for a fundamental text. In view of this it is of even more than ordinary importance to have a text of this inscription that may be correct in

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<sup>1</sup> On the name though not of this particular Shalmaneser, see Schrader, *Zeits. fuer Kelt.*, II., pp. 197-204.

<sup>2</sup> For this division, which it must be borne in mind is only drawn for the sake of convenience, and has reference more to the manner and the order in which events are told, and not to the contents of the inscriptions, see Schrader, *Zur Kritik der Inschriften Tiglathpileser's*, II., etc., p. 18 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Published III R., 5, No. 6. Smith, *Assyr. Discov.*, p. 73, speaks of duplicates of Shalmaneser inscriptions that he discovered at Nimroud, but does not say of what inscriptions. Those mentioned by him on p. 252 would belong to the second class.

<sup>4</sup> Two such bricks have been published by Layard (*Inscriptions*, pl. 77 B and 78 B). Smith, *Assyr. Discov.*, p. 79, mentions others that he came across. For the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II., in general, consult Bezold, *Babyl.-Assyr. Literatur*, pp. 73-76.

every particular; but whether for the reason that too much of our interest in the handsome monument has been absorbed by the interesting illustrations on it, or for some other reason, the text of the monument has not received that attention which it deserves. There has been no edition of it since Layard's publication<sup>5</sup> in 1851, and it is not surprising to find that Mr. Layard should, at that early date, have mistaken quite a number of signs, despite the general clearness of the characters, and that in addition, a goodly number of other errors should have crept into the work. It must be remembered that when Mr. Layard copied the text, it had not yet been translated, and that many distinctions between characters which are to-day quite elementary, were at that time unknown to the eminent pioneers in the laborious study. Those who have since then studied the inscription, like Oppert,<sup>6</sup> Menant,<sup>7</sup> Sayce,<sup>8</sup> and Schrader,<sup>9</sup> corrected some of the errors in Layard's text, but by no means all.

Recently a transliteration and translation has been published by the indefatigable and brilliant young scholar, Dr. Hugo Winckler;<sup>10</sup> but while his translation marks in general a decided advance upon that of his predecessors, the same praise cannot be accorded to his text. In the preface to the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, it is stated that new collations with the originals were made when found necessary and when possible. If Dr. Winckler consulted the original monument in the British Museum, it does not appear that he did so with the necessary care, for his transliteration contains a large number of inaccuracies. While he has removed many of Layard's errors, he has allowed almost an equal number to remain, among these some that had already been noted by his predecessors, and what is particularly to be regretted, he has added new ones of his own. True, in most cases, these errors are slight, and yet there is no reason why they should have been committed by a person of the excellent scholarship of Dr. Winckler. No doubt it was only undue haste in preparing his work that led him to overlook the points to which in the following pages I call attention.

Under these circumstances, however, it did not seem to me a superfluous task, as a preliminary to a comparative study of Shalmaneser's inscriptions, to make a renewed careful investigation of the text of the obelisk. I have used for this

<sup>5</sup> Inscriptions in the cuneiform character, pl. 87-98.

<sup>6</sup> *Expedition en Mesopot.*, I., 342; also *Histoire des Emp. de Chald. and d'Assyrie*. I desire to add that to my regret Oppert's translation is inaccessible to me, so that I could not make use of it in my study of the text.

<sup>7</sup> *Annales des Rots d'Assyrie*, pp. 97-105.

<sup>8</sup> *Records of the Past*, Vol. V., pp. 27-42, Rawlinson's tentative translation made in 1850, though remarkable at the time, is naturally of little use to-day.

<sup>9</sup> In his *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, Schrader incidentally translates a considerable portion of the inscription and adds his comments upon it, as follows:

Line 60 = page 229.	Lines 92, 93 = page 129.	Lines 102, 103 = page 6.
" 90, 91 = " 275.	" 97-99 = " 6.	" 128-141 = " 239 sqq.
" 141, 142 = " 131 sqq.	" 159-174 = " 164 sqq.	" 175-190 = " 167 sqq.

See also pp. 5, 96, 139, 151, 162, 169, 176, 229, 239, 323.

<sup>10</sup> *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Vol. I., pp. 128-150:

purpose an excellent cast in the possession of the University of Pennsylvania, the photographs published by the British Museum, and lastly the parallels in the other inscriptions of this king wherever such existed. In this way, I have succeeded in obtaining what may be called a perfect text, in all but a few places. My corrections to Layard's text aim to be complete, and in view of the fact that Winckler's transliteration will probably be much consulted in the future by scholars, I have thought it both useful and proper to indicate at the same time wherein he has deviated from these readings of the original, and I have also referred to some renderings of his with which I do not agree.

In a succeeding number of *HEBRAICA*, I hope to add a commentary to such portions of the text as require it, explaining so far as I may be able the still doubtful words and passages. In this number I am concerned almost exclusively with textual criticism. After finishing with the commentary, I intend to give the results of a comparative study of the Shalmaneser inscriptions, with a view chiefly of determining in how far the *data* furnished by them agree among themselves and to what extent they may be regarded as trustworthy.

I have not thought it necessary to give a complete transliteration, which, after Winckler's recent publication, would only be useful in connection with a new edition of the text itself, and I content myself with simply noting line for line the corrections to be made to Layard's edition.

Line 5.—The gap at the beginning of the line is not satisfactorily filled out by the insertion merely of the determinative for deity and the two horizontal wedges which complete the sign E. There is certainly room for two signs in addition, a fact which is not indicated in Layard's text, and appears to have been overlooked by Winckler also. Lyon's<sup>11</sup> conjecture of *kala-ma* is not only justified by the measurements, but is in every way acceptable. The third and fourth signs from the end are of course one, viz. *šim*.

6.—Supply *lu Sin* at the beginning. See Tigl. Pil. I. col. i. 5, where precisely the same epithets are applied to the moon-god.

7.—There can of course be no doubt that the deity at the beginning of this line is Ramman, as Sayce, Menant, and Lyon already have it. Sargon cyl. 67, Ramman is called *mu-rim ḡegalli*.

9.—The title *abkallu ilani* is given to Ašur, Bel, Nebo, and Adar (cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Dic.*, s. v., for references), as well as to Marduk. Ašur, Bel, and Adar being already mentioned elsewhere, and Nebo being here represented by *Nusku*,<sup>12</sup> as the title given to the latter, *naši ḡatti elliti*, clearly shows, there can be no doubt, apart from other considerations, that we must supply Marduk. The vertical wedge still to be seen adds positiveness to what was already certain. Why Winckler should have hesitated to supply the name of the

<sup>11</sup> *Assyr. Manual*, p. 7, 3.

<sup>12</sup> For the confusion of the two see Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 118, 119.

missing deity in this line, and also the one in line 7, while not hesitating in the case of Ea and Sin, is not clear. The expression *Bel te-re-e-ti* will be treated in the commentary. See K. 2854, (Strassm., A. V., No. 8968, *ZA. I.*, 69) where Marduk is spoken of as *muštešir terit A-num*. The sign in Layard at the end of the line must be divided. The first part is *kar* and the traces of *rad* after it are distinct.

11.—Read [git]-*ma-lu*. There is not as much room at the beginning as Layard represents.

12.—The second and third signs are of course to be joined to one.

13.—At the beginning read *ra bu ti*.

14.—Supply *il ani* at the beginning.

15.—There is room for the male determinative at the beginning, but for nothing more.

19.—Read *na b* instead of *ab*.

24.—Insert *ina* before <sup>šad</sup>*niribe*. Salm. Mon. in the parallel passage, col. i. 15, also has *ina*. Omitted by Winckler.

28.—Read *u-lil*. Winckler's translation misses the point. See Thiele, *Gesch.*, p. 188, ll. 2, 3.

29.—Insert *šad-e* after *ana*, again overlooked by Winckler, who follows Layard. Would it not be preferable to take the determinative after *ana šade* for *mat*, and not as Delitzsch (*Par.*, p. 103) does, and also Lyon, for *šad*, Haman being then the name given to the district as well as to the mountain? The same remark would of course apply to the parallel passage, Salm. Mon. i. 50, also ii. 10, and some other places. Cf. Thiele (*Gesch.*, p. 243), who speaks of the "country" of Hamman.

30.—Join signs 9 and 10.

32.—Read *sa* instead of *ir*.

34.—Winckler omits the determinative for city before *birtu*.

35.—The stone has here and line 166 the sign *UT*, but line 113 *ZAB*. It is not absolutely necessary to suppose a clerical error in the two former passages, since both signs, by virtue of their descent from a common original picture (see Houghton, *TSBA.* vi. p. 469; Hilprecht, *Freibrief*, p. vii; Amiaud & Mechineau, *Tableau Comparé*, etc., No. 213) may have the value *lah*, which is required here. Still, in view of the fact that elsewhere in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser we find invariably the latter sign (Mon. II. 21, 49, 68; Bull Lay. 46, 2), it is more than probable that the scribe intended the same sign throughout. In no case, however, is there any warrant for Winckler's reading *ip-par-šid*, no such sign as *šid* appearing on the original.

36.—Read *sa* instead of *ir*.

37.—The fifth sign has a rather peculiar shape; but there is no doubt of its being *ni*. It looks as though the scribe had started to write a false sign,



possibly *šar*, and then changed it rather clumsily. Read *indašir* (not *inṭašir*, as Winckler does), in accordance with Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, § pp. 48-49.

38.—Winckler omits the determinative for city at the beginning of the line. There does not appear to be anything missing at the end of the line.

39.—Read *sa* instead of *ir*. The *ni*, as Winckler correctly surmises, can only be an error of the copyist, who mistook the signs *LU MEŠ* for *šarrani*. Menant, *Annales*, p. 98, has already noticed the mistake; but Sayce, *RP.*, v. p. 31, overlooks it, and renders erroneously "kings."

40.—There is a space on the stone after *pi-it*; but there is nothing wanting.

41.—Winckler has overlooked that there is room at the end of the line for another sign, and it is certain that we must read *ta-ia-ar-ti-ia*, as we find constantly in this and the other inscriptions of Shalmaneser. Cf. ll. 130, 140, etc.

45.—Read *zi* for *gi*. At the end of the line supply *Su-[uḫ-mi]*, in accordance with the parallel passage, *Mon. II.* 45, 46. So already Schrader, *KGF.*, p. 143, note, suggests. Winckler, following apparently *Lay.* 12, 19, reads *Su-uḫ-ni*; but the preference I think must be given to the *Monolith*, where *Suḫmi* occurs no less than three times. I am inclined to suspect some error in the text of the bull inscription. The *ni* may easily have been superinduced by the re-occurrence of the character in the proper name immediately preceding. If the latter is also to be read *Suḫ-ni*, which I should also like to question, pending a re-examination of the stone, it is almost certain that the two places cannot be identical, since no rational explanation can be given why a scribe should write the same name in two entirely different ways in the very same line. If therefore we settle upon *Suḫni* for the first name, the second is, without much question, *Su-uḫ-mi*. That there should be two distinct countries, or rather provinces, yet differing so slightly in name as *Suḫmi* and *Suḫni*, need not arouse any suspicion. Compare *Partakka* and *Partukka*, two cities of *Media* mentioned side by side in *Esarhaddon Cyl. A.*, iv. 19, 20, and *C.*, iv. 4 (according to Harper's text, *HEBRAICA*, iv. p. 22).

44.—The third and fourth signs from the end must be brought closer together. Notice the variants *ḫu-ub* and *ḫu-bu*, *Balawat II.* 3. See also *Mon. I.* 20, etc.; *Ob.* 161, 162.

45.—The curious blunder of the scribe in this line, in writing *Dânašur*, whereas the eponym for the year was *Ašurbânusur*, was first pointed out by George Smith, *Eponym Canon*, p. 192. See also Schrader, *KGF.*, pp. 45, 323 seq. It is to be noted that this is the only mention of an eponym in the obelisk, and the question suggests itself whether it was not the intention of the scribe to single out the eponym of *Dânašur* for special mention, with the view of adding to the glory of Shalmaneser's favorite general, who is spoken of so frequently in the inscription (ll. 141, 149, 159, 175). His blunder would then consist, not in

writing Dânašur, as Smith, Schrader, and Winckler assume, but in putting him in the wrong place, in the fourth pali instead of in the sixth. Under this supposition the exceptional mention of an eponym, whereas all the other events are dated by the years of the king's reign, would find a natural explanation, and one that throws an interesting light upon the commanding position held by Dânašur.

46.—At the end of the line read Ši-tam-[rat]. The traces of rat are distinctly to be seen; but even if that were not the case, the two parallel passages Mon. II. 69, 70, Ši-i-ta-am-rat, and Bal. III. 3, Ši-ta-am-rat, place the reading beyond any doubt. Winckler's reading here, ši-tam-gi, can only be accounted for on the ground of undue haste. He takes the word for a common noun, and naturally can find no translation for it, overlooking the fact that, in the Monolith inscription, the word is preceded in both places by the determinative šad, and in the Balawat inscription, indeed, by the determinative for the city. The latter is probably a clerical error for šad;<sup>13</sup> but this only makes the fact that Šitamrat is the name of a mountain peak all the more certain. Neither Menant nor Sayce appear to have recognized this. Winckler has carelessly omitted abal Adini in this line.

47.—Insert šad after uban, which is to be seen very clearly on the stone. Winckler's brackets around the word are therefore superfluous. At the end of the line complete u-[ba-an]. The na in Layard is erroneous. Cf. l. 117.

49.—The last sign on this line is, of course, ki.

52.—Winckler has accidentally omitted a-na šad after ina V pale-ia.

53.—The third sign is te not la. There is considerable variation on the obelisk in the formation of slanting and horizontal wedges, and it is at times only possible to decide from the context whether we have the sign te or la, giš or ud, and so with some others.

59.—Supply kali at the beginning.

60.—Šār at the beginning. There is only room for such a sign as NIŠ, not for any longer ideogram.

61.—At end of line miš for ta.

63.—Supply [a]-na at beginning. Read bel-ia at end of line.

64.—There is nothing wanting at the beginning of the line. Separate the 6th and 7th signs.

65.—Nor is anything missing at the beginning of this line.

66.—Correct Winckler's reading šabu to šabe.

67.—Read Ha[bi-in] in accordance with the parallel passage, Layard, 46, 9. Any further doubt as to the correctness of this reading is removed by the passage in the Asurn. inscription I R. 24, col. III. 55, where this same chief of Tilabnâ is spoken of. The sign ni is quite clearly to be distinguished, but

<sup>13</sup> See, however, Del., *Par.*, p. 264.

of bi only one horizontal wedge remains. Menant and Sayce have already filled out the gap correctly. At the end of the line read a-[lik] in accordance with the faint traces and the parallels, Bull, Layard, 46, 9, and 14, 20.

69.—Read a-šar and separate the a from the preceding character.

71.—Supply kat at end of line.

72.—Read kir-bi-ša.

72.—The wedges of the sign kar are rather more slanting than they appear in Layard.

74.—Read sa for ir and correct la into te.

75.—Layard fails to indicate that there is a small space at the beginning of the line. Nor has Winckler taken notice of the fact. It is quite certain that we must fill it out by inserting the matu which we find in the parallel passage, Balawat IV., 1. This disposes of Delitzsch's remarks, Assyr. Dict., p. 223.

78.—Read sa for ir.

80.—Same.

81.—The traces of a sign which may very well be the bel demanded by the context are to be seen. Separate 9th and 10th signs.

82.—The second syllable of Bar-sip has the form usual to the sign and not the somewhat queer one given by Layard.

83.—The cast shows a break at the beginning of the line, but from Layard it does not appear that such was the case on the original at the time he copied it. The reading is correct.

85.—Read sa for ir.

87.—The words ša mat Hatti given by Layard at the end of the line and adopted by all of his followers, including Winckler, do not appear on the stone, nor is there room for them, nor do the parallels, Bull, Layard, 15, 35 and 46, 22, make mention of the Hatti country at this point.

88.—The scribe has omitted the sign ta of the word attarad.

99.—Winckler's suggestion to add itti šunu before amdahhis, as we constantly find it (e. g. l. 64) is good. The parallel, Layard, 17, 25, also has it.

94.—The scribe has erroneously written the sign ZAB instead of UT in the composition of the name Marduk. Layard either quietly corrected this or overlooked it. The two signs following Marduk must be joined together and are to be read Mudammik.<sup>14</sup> The second part of the sign is ZAB as usual and not UT, as given by Layard. The latter has also accidentally repeated the signs šu-zu in this line.

96.—The bull inscription (Layard, 13, 12) as well as the fragment of the annals, III R. 5, No. 6, 1, declare in accord with our text that in his 18th year Shalmaneser crossed the Euphrates for the 16th time, so that it is hardly

<sup>14</sup> Winckler reads u dam mik.

possible to suppose a slip on the part of the scribe. The number, however, does not seem to be right. Assuming that the king includes in the "crossings" his journey to the sources of the Euphrates in his 15th year, we would still have only thirteen crossings up to the 18th year. Unless, therefore, we assume that the account of two additional expeditions across the Euphrates has been omitted, we must stamp the assertion of the scribe as an intentional exaggeration. So in l. 99, the number 18 (not 19 as Winckler erroneously states) must be judged in the same way. But, on the other hand, the numbers 20, 21 and 22 in ll. 100, 102, 104 respectively, are to be explained in the way suggested by Theile, *Gesch.*, p. 202, as arising from a confusion with the figures referring to the reign of the king.

99.—Winckler erroneously XIX ša nîtu for XVIII.

101.—The sixth sign is ka, written in the regular way.

102.—Correct the number XI to XXI.

104.—Both numbers in this line are clearly XXII on the stone, not 12 or 21 as Layard copies, nor 22 and 21 as Winckler, correcting only one of Layard's errors, states. Menant and Sayce have the correct numbers.

106.—It looks as though there had been an erasure at the end of the line, but I am strongly inclined to believe that there is nothing at all missing now after tu. There is certainly not so large a gap as Winckler supposes. This practically disposes of the latter's conjecture that Tu is the first part of a proper name, that of the mountain where the metals mentioned in the following are to be obtained. Sayce (*RP.*, V., 135) translates "to conquer the mines of silver," etc., and evidently reads Kišit-tu. Despite the irregularity in the final syllable, this reading is the most acceptable one that has been proposed.

107.—Read XXIII for XIII.

108.—I do not know why Winckler changes the reading of the stone U-e-ta-aš to ga-ê-ta-aš. There appears to be no warrant whatsoever for this.

113.—See note to l. 35. Read ip-laḥ not ip-luḥ as Winckler invariably does. Peiser in his translation of the monolith of Shalmaneser (*Keilins. Bibl.*, 150-174) transliterates correctly ip-laḥ. Cf. the variant ip-la-ḥu Salm. Mon. I. 21; II. 76 and 79. So also Asum. Mon. III R. 6, Rev. 16, 30.

114.—The stone has clearly la and not at, so that the name of the city is Si-ḥi-ša-laḥ.<sup>15</sup> The 5th and 6th signs from the end are to be joined.

116.—The 2d and 3d signs from the end are to be joined.

118.—Read si instead of ḫur. The scribe has erroneously written ak (as given by Layard) instead of ku. Winckler corrects aduku.

119.—The 2d and 3d signs must be separated.

<sup>15</sup> The final syllables šalah remind us of the šelah in such names כְּתוּשֶׁלַח (Gen. 5:21).

121.—The first sign is quite certainly pi and not te as Layard, whom Winckler follows, has it. The third sign is si, and the whole word is to be read pi-is-si. For the meaning, see the commentary.

122.—In the name of the second city mentioned in this line, the first sign is without much doubt tar, the second is not at all clear on the cast, but za, as Layard reads, is the most likely. The third city is E-sa-mul. As so often, Layard has erroneously copied ir for sa and failed to join the two following signs. In further explanation, it ought to be said that it is not always easy to determine (except by the context) whether two signs belong together or not, the scribe exercising considerable freedom in leaving a greater or smaller space between the several parts of a compound sign.

124.—Winckler has omitted ni after alu MEŠ.

125.—The determinative mat before Harḥara is a slip of Layard's. The original has the determinative for city, as Delitzsch, *Par.*, p. 233, already suspects. Sargon Annals, l. 70, and Salle, XIV. 7 (Winckler's edition, p. 81), Ha-ar-ḥa-ra-ai and Har-ḥar also appear with the determinative for city. Winckler again copies Layard's error.

125.—I question whether we are justified in attributing the value az, as Winckler wishes to have done, to the sign which, so far as I know, has only the value aš. It seems to me that ašḫup bears the same relation to the ordinary azḫup, that iṣpuna, which occurs on the obelisk, l. 21, and ašpun, l. 158, do to the regular iṣpunu and aspun, and that asarap (with a D) in ll. 158 and 189 does to the regular ašarap, though this form may stand for aštarap. Such variations are exceedingly instructive and ought not to be rashly disposed of by proposing new readings for signs. Winckler reads both ŠAG A and ŠAG U (e. g. l. 118) as bušu. This is certainly not correct, since the two are very often found side by side.

129.—Layard commits two slips in this line. The stone reads tidukišu (not šunu) and šallasu (not sunu). Winckler once more repeats Layard's very pardonable oversights. For the form asala see Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, p. 269.

130.—Winckler could not have consulted the original or he would have seen that the sign before the last is gu. This A-gu-si is the same that occurs Mon. II., 27, where the name is written agu-usi, and he is no doubt identical with the Gu-si of Mon. II., 12 and 82, which is probably an error on the part of the scribe for A-gu-si. See Schrader, *KGF.*, p. 207.

133.—The seventh sign from the end is not altogether clear on the stone, but I feel quite certain that it is li and not ka. The proper name accordingly is Tu-ul-li.

135.—The third sign is not altogether clear but of course can only be alpu. The signs at the end are somewhat cramped, but Laminā is probably correct.

137.—Insert šad after second sign.

138.—Read Tar-zi.

140.—There does not appear to be an erasure on the stone as Layard declares, but only a space such as we find elsewhere. The stone has gušur not gušurati as Winckler reads, though he may be right in adding the plural sign.

141.—There is a space at the beginning of the line, but there is nothing wanting. Possibly the scribe had written something and then erased it. Aššâ accordingly is the first word.

142.—Separate signs No. 9 and 10.

143.—The ninth sign from the end is without question ub, not be, as Layard, though with an interrogation mark, and Winckler, without the interrogation, have it.

145.—Separate again so as to read am-daḥ-ḥ-iš. There is a space at the end of this line, but nothing is wanting apparently. Possibly an erasure again.

146.—Join signs No. 11 and 12.

147.—The sign na at the end has the form here and elsewhere which Layard gives it.

150.—Separate signs No. 2 and 3.

152.—Read lik for ri.

153.—The character at the beginning is not clear. It may be za, as Winckler proposes; but there certainly is not room for an additional wedge, which we should expect in case this were really a proper name Zaipparma. But the first sign can very well be an erasure and we should then read the following signs ip-lah, explaining the sign UT for ZAB, as above l. 35. This is certainly the word that from the parallel passages we would expect here, and the only objection to the reading which appears to be adopted by Sayce (*RP.*, V., p. 38) is that we ought to have the plural form iplaḥu. This may be due to an omission of the scribe. In no case, however, can Winckler be right in reading "Zaipparma, the son of Surri," for he overlooks that the following word ablu has the plural sign after it. Separate signs after bel and insert ṭi, reading ḥi-i-ṭi. Cf. l. 81.

154.—Read sa for ir.

155.—The eleventh sign from end is si.

157.—The fourth sign must, of course, be šab, and the two following must be joined. In the case of the former, it looks as though the scribe had started to write Hi, and then noticing his error, attempted to change it.

158.—Winckler again proposes to read as-pu-an for the textual ašpun, but see above note to l. 125.

159.—The sign at the end after DI is TAR. Layard has failed to indicate that there is space after ilu for the sign for Ašur.

163.—Read *sa* for *ir*, overlooked by Winckler. The name of the country is *Madahisa*. The reading is confirmed by line 164, where again the stone has *sa* for the *ir* which appears erroneously in Layard's text.

165.—Read *da* for *al*.

166.—Stone as in Layard's text *UT*. See note to 35.

167.—Join 5th and 6th signs from end.

168.—The scribe has erroneously written *aš* for *ai* in the name *Man-na-ai*. Traces of *na* at the end of the line are to be seen.

169.—Read *sa* for *ir*.

170.—Join 10th and 11th signs from end. Second sign from end is *LAL*.

171.—Read *sa* for *ir*, second sign from end. Cf. Samsiramman, Col. III., 63 *Ar-ta-si-ra-ri*.

174.—Traces at the end of the line after *ir* are very faint. I distinguish the horizontal wedge given by Layard, and the beginning of a second above it. There is hardly room for anything more than a quite simple sign, and the most probable conjecture is *na*, though I do not wish this to be taken without reserve. For a suggestion with regard to the meaning of this word, see my commentary to the text, at the beginning of line.

175.—Winckler has coolly omitted the *ti*, which appears in Layard's text, without as much as intimating that there is something missing before *Ašur*. A close examination of the cast and photograph has convinced me that what Layard takes as one sign are really two. The first is *Aš* and the second *ŠI*, and the two are to be read *ina paṇ*. Winckler's translation "*eilte ich zum zweiten Male*," etc., is entirely wrong. He has not seen, as Sayce already pointed out (*RP*, V., p. 4, note), that the lines refer to the celebration incident to the king's assumption of the eponymy for the second time. I shall speak fully of this passage in the commentary.

176.—Layard's text has *aš* for the ninth sign, and at first sight it really appears as though the sign were on the stone; but a closer examination reveals that the scribe himself evidently intended to correct an error he made, and attempted to erase a superfluous wedge. We must, of course, read *pa*.

177.—In this line Layard has omitted a second *a* in the proper name *Hu-bu-uš-ha-a-a* and a *šu* after *madatu*. Winckler follows Layard and in addition omits the *ina* after *iḫtirib*.

178.—Winckler erroneously transliterates *Ša* for *Šap* in the proper name *Sap-pa-ri-a*. There is a space after *Mušašira*, but nothing is wanting apparently.

179.—Winckler supplies the gap in the middle of this line by *[bi-ra]a-ti* without, however, intimating that there is any gap. There is scarcely anything to be seen on the cast after *a-di*. The first wedge may be a horizontal one.

While Winckler's conjecture is decidedly ingenious, it is not altogether acceptable. In the first place, the expression "to the fortresses of the country...I went" is rather strange, and so far as I know is not to be found elsewhere; secondly, it does not fit well with the continuation of the narrative, for immediately after, Shalmaneser says, "Fifty of his cities I destroyed," etc., without saying a word of the *birâti*. Of course it might be said in reply that the *birâti* are the cities, and while this is not impossible, the use of the word in line 34, where the *birtu* is sharply distinguished from *alu* (or *mahâzu* as Schrader and Winckler would have us read, see *Keil. Bibl.*, p. VII.), rather argues against an identification of the two. Sayce, who translates "up to the borders," evidently thinks of *pa-a-ti*, and this is decidedly better, but is open to two serious objections, (1) the spelling would be very unusual and (2) there is space for more than the simple character *pa*. It is with all possible reserve that I raise the question whether we may not have the plural here of the *pissi* signalized above in the note to l. 121, and fill out the gap by reading [*pi-sa*]-*ti* or possibly *pi-is-sa-a-ti*, though there is scarcely room for so much. I cheerfully admit that the faint traces, while not interposing any obstacles, do not furnish evidence to support it. At all events, so much may be said, that from the context we should expect a word meaning "entrance," "border," or "interior," or the like, but hardly such a term as "fortresses."

180.—Fill out the gap by reading *ina išati ašrup* (up). There is hardly room for writing the last word phonetically, as Winckler does.

181.—Schrader (*KGF.*, p. 179), Sayce (*RP.*, V., p. 41), and Menant (*Annales*, p. 104) agree in reading *Man[na-ai]-a*, the country which borders upon Gilzan (see Schrader *KGF.*, s. v. and map). The following name is *Bu-ri-sa*, though the middle sign is not altogether clear. Correct Layard's reading *ir to sa*.

182.—I am unable to fill out the gap in this line. After *ma* *t* a vertical wedge can be seen. The character which Layard takes for *ra*, (adding an interrogation mark) is very doubtful. Sayce renders "country of the Kharkhanians," but I do not know upon what warrant.

183.—The first sign should be *LAL*. The gap in the center is somewhat larger than shown in Layard, but the space for the proper name is diminished by the sign *at*, which we must insert before *to-rad*.

185.—Correct *ka* into *eli*, add *ina* before it and supply *šu-un*, thus reading *ina elišunu* (cf. l. 156, etc.). Winckler omits *ina*. The sign to which Layard adds a query is *uk*. The traces are distinct on the stone, and there is enough to show that the sign has the ordinary form. The last character can only be *lik*. Layard has *ri*, but the traces though faint show that *lik* was there. Two initial vertical and one horizontal wedge can be distinguished.

189.—The sign before the last is *sa* and not *ir*. See the note to l. 125.



## BAS-RELIEF EPIGRAPHS.

A.—Su-u-a seems to be a clerical error for A-sa-a-u king of Gilzan, mentioned in the Mon. II., 69 (cf. Theile, *Gesch.*, p. 198). The identity of the two will hardly be questioned, and we might refer to Gusi and Agusi (see note to l. 130) as an example of an analogous variation. But may not the scribe have confused Asau with Su-u-a (written just as here) the king of Suḫmi who is mentioned Mon. II., 46?

C.—Read Sa-ke-ia instead of Layard's Irkea. It is surprising to find that Winckler should have retained an error which has been corrected by Menant (*Annales*, p. 105), Sayce (*RP.*, V., 42), Schrader (*KGF.*, p. 272, note), Delitzsch (*Par.*, 123), Oppert (*Égypte and Assyrie*, p. 9), and no doubt others, and which he might have detected by simply consulting the photograph.

D.—Winckler reads Mardukapluuṣur, just as above in l. 94 he reads Mardukšumudammiḫ. Mardukbalnaṣir or Mardukablinaṣir<sup>16</sup> appears preferable.

E.—Winckler reads sipa-ar-ri, by joining the two signs following upon the ideogram for copper and changing the ḫu to ri. On the stone, however, the two characters are not written very close to one another, and the ḫu in Layard's text is certainly correct. Besides ar-ri as a phonetic complement to sippari is rather strange. I prefer to read simply ši-ri-ḫu, taking the word as an adjective to sipparu in the sense of "bulky" or the like. See the commentary to the text.

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<sup>16</sup> Genitive of ablu. I find on a cylinder which I publish in the October number of *Zeitschrift f. Assyriol.*, the name Marduktabikzirim (genitive) written phonetically.

## THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION \* II. GEN. 12:6—37:1.†

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### IX. The Analysis of Gen. 12:6-17:27.‡

[The subjects treated in this section are,—(1) Abram in Canaan; (2) his sojourn in Egypt; (3) separation from Lot; (4) war with Chedorlaomer and meeting with Melchizedek; (5) his vision and the prediction of the Egyptian bondage; (6) birth of Ishmael; (7) the solemn covenant accompanied by circumcision.]

#### A. The Element of P.

##### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED TO P.

13:6 (K. and S., 6b = J), 11b-12a; 16½:1 (K. and S., 1b = J), 3, 15sq. (Kitt., 16:1a = J; Well., Del., 16:1 = J); 17:1-27 [יְהוָה, in v. 1, for אֱלֹהִים = R].

##### 2. SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

“Abram and Lot settle together in Canaan; but the land is too small for their possessions. Hence they separate; Abram remaining in Canaan, Lot dwelling in the ‘cities of the plain.’” [Here belongs 19:29, in which P mentions, in passing, that, at the destruction of these cities, God saved Lot for Abraham’s sake.] “Ten years later, Sarai, being childless, gives Hagar, her Egyptian slave, to Abram for a wife. A year afterwards, a son is born, whom *Abram* names Ishmael. Thirteen years later, God makes a covenant with Abram, promising that he shall become the ‘father of a multitude of nations,’ on account of which he is named *Abraham*. (*Sarai* also is changed to *Sarah*.) The promise is to be fulfilled through Isaac. Ishmael also is to be great, begetting twelve princes, and becoming a great nation. This covenant is to find expression, on Abraham’s part, in the rite of *circumcision*, which is to be perpetuated among his seed forever. Accordingly, Abraham circumcises himself, Ishmael, and all the male servants of his household.”

\* THE ALLEGED FACTS AND CONSIDERATIONS OF THE PENTATEUCHAL ANALYSIS PRESENTED AND CRITICIZED BY *Professors Harper* (of Yale) and *Green* (of Princeton).

† The answer to certain criticisms made and certain positions taken by Professor Green in the *April* number, will be reserved until all the *historical* matter has been considered.

‡ This article will be continued in the October HEBRAICA. Professor Green’s reply will appear in the January (1890) HEBRAICA.

§ In the work of collecting and classifying the facts of the analysis, I desire to acknowledge my very great indebtedness to the assistance rendered me by Mr. Samuel Weyler, New Haven, Conn.

§ Before 16 belongs 19:29, misplaced by R; see the following *Synopsis*.

## 3. LANGUAGE OF P.

## 1) OLD WORDS.\*

- (1) רכוש (12:5; 13:6).  
 (2) התהלך *be ptous* (17:1): cf. 5:22; 6:9.  
 (3) תמים (17:1).  
 (4) רבה (17:2,20).  
 (5) מאד מאד (17:2,6,20).  
 (6) אלהים (17:3,7,8,9,15,18,19,22,23; 19:20).  
 (7) אני הנה (17:4).  
 (8) פרה (17:6,20).  
 (9) הקים ברית (17:7,19,21): note also ברית נתן 17:2.  
 (10) נתן, for שים or שית (17:5,6,20).  
 (11) אחריו זרע (17:7 twice, 8,9,10,19).  
 (12) דרות (17:7,9,12).  
 (13) ברית עולם (17:7,13,19).  
 (14) זכר (17:11,12,14,23).  
 (15) עצם *selfsame* (17:23,26).  
 (16) ילד (Hiph'il) (17:20).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) נפש *slave* (12:5): cf. Lev. 22:11; Num. 31:35,40.  
 (2) כנען ארץ as Abraham's abode (12:5 twice; 13:12; 16:3; 17:8): cf. also 11:31.

(3) ערי הכנר, Lot's abode (13:12): cf. 19:29, which really belongs to this section.

(4) אל שרי (17:1): cf. 23:3; 35:11; 48:3; Ex. 6:3.†

(5) אֶחָוָה (17:8): cf. Lev. 25:10,13,24,27,28,32,33,34,41, etc.

(6) מול (and מולל) (17:10,11,12,13 twice,14,23,24,26,27): cf. 21:4; 34:15,17,22 twice,24; Ex. 12:44,48; Lev. 12:3. Nowhere in prophetic portions in sense of circumcision except Jos. 5:2,3,8 = E. But even there it is related as a *custom*, not as a *law*. See also Ex. 4:25.

(7) יצאו...ומלכים (17:6): cf. 35:11.

(8) יליד בית (17:12,13,23,27): cf. Lev. 22:11.

(9) מקנת כסף (17:12,13,23,27): cf. Ex. 12:44.

(10) בן נכר (17:12,27): cf. Ex. 12:43; Lev. 22:25.

(11) ונכרתה הנפש וכו' (17:14): cf. Ex. 12:15,19; 31:14; Lev. 7:20,21,25,27; 18:29; 23:29, etc.

(12) ערל (17:14): cf. Ex. 12:43.

(13) בשר ערלתא (17:11,14,23,24,25): cf. Lev. 12:8.

(14) בריתי הפר (17:14): cf. Lev. 26:44.

## 4. STYLE OF P.

It is—1) *Systematic*. (1) Just as (a) the story of creation led up to the announcement of the Sabbath, and (b) the story of the deluge culminated in a covenant with Noah and the law of bloodshed, so (c) this section brings us to the *covenant with Abraham*, and the institution of *circumcision*. [The entire story, including "Sodom's destruction," is told in seven and a half verses, while nearly the whole of ch. 17 (at least 20 verses) is given to the covenant and circumcision.] (2) This covenant is the third of a series; and P's systematic arrangement becomes further apparent, in that (a) the Sabbath is simply *made* holy; bloodshed is forbidden, and the rainbow appears only as a *sign* of the covenant (זאת אותהברית); while circumcision is more strongly emphasized, being *per se* the covenant (זאת בריתי, 17:10, and בהשרכם, 17:13); still further, in that (b) the Sabbath, as an institution, is dismissed with but half a verse, 2:3a; bloodshed (omitting 9:4, the blood of animals, and the account of the rainbow, closely connected with the covenant) takes two verses, 9:5,6; but circumcision (purely the law) occupies five verses, 17:10–14. (3) The *dates* are consistent and consecutive, 12:4b; 16:3,16; 17:1,17,24,25.

\* That is, words which have already been cited in connection with chs. 1–12:5; see HEBRAICA, Oct., '88, p. 64; also pp. 22–3, 32–3, 43–4, and 52–3.

† In all these cases, God reveals himself by this name, or the patriarchs speak of such a revelation. The presentations are consistent with, or conform to, Ex. 6:3.

2) *Chronological and statistical*, as seen in (1) his mentioning the exact age of Abram with every event, 12:4b; 16:16; 17:1, 24; (2) giving the age of others besides Abram; (a) Sarai's, 17:17, (b) Ishmael's, 17:25; (3) naming the date in 16:3. [Note that all these dates are consistent and consecutive.]

3) *Generic*. (1) Abram arrives in the "land of Canaan" [cf. J ער מקום 12:5; (2) Abram and Lot have "great possessions" [cf. J: "Abram was laden with cattle, silver and gold;" "and also Lot...had sheep, oxen and tents"] 13:6; (3) Abram dwells in the "land of Canaan," a very indefinite designation [cf. J אלני ממרא, 13:12.

4) *Rigid and stereotyped*, as seen (1) in the expressions (a) היות לאלהים, 17:7, 8; (b) לכרית עולם, 17:7, 13, 19; (c) זרעך אחריו, 17:7, 8, 9, 10; (d) בניי וביניי, 17:2, 7, 10, 11; (e) בעצם היום הזה, 17:23, 26. (2) In the utter absence of description or rhetorical figure; thus, the promise of *multitudes* is invariably expressed by נרים, 17:4, 5, 6, 16, [cf. JE: "as the dust of the earth;" "the stars of heaven;" "the sand on the seashore"].

5) *Verbose and repetitious*, as seen in (1) 12:5b, ארצה כנען repeated; (2) last clause in 13:6, which adds nothing; (3) 16:3, which might have been condensed, without any loss, into seven words, ותקח שרי את הגר ותתן אתה לאברם, or one-third of its present length; (4) 16:15, where אשר ילדה הגר is superfluous; (5) ch. 17, every thought of which is found in vs. 1, 2, 3a, 4b, 6b, 5a (including אברהם), 8a (omitting את ארץ מגריך), 10, 12 (omitting כל זכר לדרוטיכם), 14a, 15, 16 (omitting ויברכתיה), 17-20, 22, 26, 27; or, in other words, out of twenty-seven verses only about fifteen are really necessary, even for all the legal minutiae. As a matter of fact, it could be so written as to require less than half the space P gives to it.

*Note.*—The "material" and "theology" of P can be more easily presented in connection with that of J, and will therefore be taken up later. See pp. 248-250.

## B. The Element of J (more strictly, JE).\*

### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

12:6-9 (Well., Kuen., 12:9 = RJ), 10-20 [their basis = J† (Well., Kuen., = J2)]; 13:2, 5, 7-11a, 12 [only the last clause], 13-18 [3sq. and ולוט עמו in v. 1 = R (Well., Kuen., 1, 3sq. = RJ; 14-17 = R<sup>d</sup>; K. and S., 1-5 (except ולוט עמו in 1), 6b-11a, 12 (last clause only) = J, also 13-18)]; 15:4, 9-18\* [all worked over by R, while 12-16 = R wholly; also 7sq. = R; 19-21 = R<sup>d</sup>(?); in 1-3 traces of J are found. (So K. and S., Well., 7sq., 12-16 = R; 19-21 = R<sup>d</sup>; Kuen., 15 = J mingled with an unknown account by R who also changed and augmented it; 5sq. = R<sup>d</sup>; 13-16 and 19-21 = R<sup>d</sup> + R(?). Bud., 1, 2a, 3b, 4, 6-11, 17, 18 = J; 12-16,

\* In this section, J is prophetic, as over against P, which is priestly; the Element is as yet too indistinct and uncertain to demand separate treatment.

† 12:10-20 belongs to J (after 13:18), worked over by R. [See Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, 5th ed., p. 223].

19-21 = R. Del., 15 = J, except 2 and 16 = E; 8-21 = J on a basis of E. Kitt., 1,6 = JE; 3sq. = J<sup>1</sup>; 7-18 = J<sup>2</sup>, except *parts* of 9-12 and perhaps 18 = E; 14 = P(?)]]; 16:2,4-14 (Well., 1,2,4-8,11-14 = J; 8-10 = R<sup>4</sup>[JE]. Bud., 1 = P<sup>2</sup>. Kuen., Kitt., 9sq. = R<sup>4</sup>[JE]. Del. gives also v. 1 to J; K. and S. 1b,2,4-7,11-14 = J).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"Having reached Shechem, Abram builds an altar to Yahweh who appears to him there. He then moves to the mountains, and builds another altar. Now a quarrel arises between the herdmen of Abram and Lot (who accompanied him, as recorded in 12:4a), and so Abram proposes a friendly separation. Accordingly, Lot chooses the 'fertile plain of the Jordan,' becoming a neighbor of the wicked Sodomites; while Abram settles among 'Mamre's oaks.' But a famine compels Abram to go to Egypt. Here Sarai's extraordinary beauty becomes a source of anxiety to Abram, lest the Egyptians kill him. They represent themselves as brother and sister; and Sarai is taken to Pharaoh's harem. But Yahweh sends plagues upon the king and his household. Pharaoh thus discovers that she is married, and so he restores her to Abram, and sends them away in peace. After that, Yahweh appears to Abram in a vision, repeats the promise (often made before), that Abram's descendants are to be as 'innumerable as the stars.' A covenant is made by passing through the pieces of bisected victims. But Sarai, still childless, recommends Hagar, her handmaid, to Abram, in the hope that children may thus be raised up. Hagar, at the prospect of raising up an heir—sole heir, in fact—to Abram, naturally becomes elated, and begins to treat her mistress slightly. Sarai punishes her so severely that she runs away. But an angel orders her back, at the same time promising her a son, whom she is to call Ishmael."

## 3. THE LANGUAGE OF J.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) יהוה (12:7 twice, 8 twice, 17; 18:4,10 twice, 13,14,18; 15:1,2,4,6,18; 16:2,5,7,9,10,11 twice, 18).
- (2) מנח (12:7,8; 18:4,18).
- (3) מקרם (12:8 twice; 18:11).
- (4) אהל (12:8; 18:3,5, (12,18 as a verb)).
- (5) נא (12:11,13; 18:3,9,14; 16:2 twice).
- (6) בעבור (12:13,16).
- (7) מקנה (18:2,7 twice).
- (8) אנכי (15:1,2,14(= R<sup>4</sup>?); 16:5,8).
- (9) רון (15:14).
- (10) שמע לקול (16:2).
- (11) ותהר (16:4).
- (12) על-כן (16:14).
- (13) כרת ברית (15:18).
- (14) קלל (16:4,5).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) ויעתק משם (12:8): cf. 26:22.
- (2) הקריב intrans. *approach* (12:11): cf. Ex. 14:10; in P the Hiph'tl of קרב *always* has a direct object, which is *caused* to draw near, and *usually* refers to sacrifice.
- (3) בגלל (12:13): cf. 30:27; 39:5.
- (4) .... על צוה (12:20): only here and in 2 Sam. 14:8.
- (5) בתחלה (13:3): cf. 41:21; 48:18,20. See also בראשונה (18:4).
- (6) אלני ממרא, Abram's abode, (18:18): cf. 18:1.
- (7) נשא ענים (18:10,14): cf. 18:2; 22:4,13; 24:64; 31:10,12; 33:1,5; 37:25; 48:29; Ex. 14:10.
- (8) לקראת (15:10): cf. 18:2; 19:1; 24:65; 32:7, etc.

(9) אולי (16:2): cf. 18:24, 28, 29, 30sq.

(10) הבית (15:5): cf. 19:17, 28, etc.

### 3) POETIC\* WORDS.

(1) שָׂמַח and יָמִין, as verbs, (13:9).

(2) עָרִיר and מֶשֶׁק (15:2): note the pun מֶשֶׁק  
and דִּמְשָׁק.

(3) צָרָה (15:6).

(4) גִּזְרֵי (15:9).

(5) בָּתֵּר (15:10).

(6) עֵיט (15:11).

(7) גִּזְרֵי and עֵלְטָה and לִפְרִיר (15:17).

(8) פָּרָא (16:12).

(9) רָאִי (16:13).

### 4. J'S STYLE.

1) It is *free* and *flowing*. (1) No particular *system*; while the covenant between Yahweh and Abram is recorded, it is neither the climax, nor the all-important fact of the narrative. It is connected with no *institution*; and the promise made *then*, is only one of many repeatedly made by Yahweh, in his familiar intercourse with the patriarchs. (2) On the other hand, though his stories are quite independent, the transition from one to another is smooth and easy.

2) It abounds in *story* and *tradition*. (1) Cause of separation between Abram and Lot (13:7sq.); (2) episode of Sarai in Egypt (12:10-20); (3) trouble between Sarai and Hagar (16:4-6); (4) Hagar's meeting with the angel (16:7-12).

3) It is *vivid*, *poetic* and *dramatic*, in (1) the abundance of brief conversations, as (a) between Abram and Sarai (12:11b-13); (b) Pharaoh and Abram (12:18, 19); (c) Abram and Lot (13:8, 9); (d) Sarai and Abram in *giving* Hagar [in this case the contrast is very marked between P and J. The former *tells* the fact, "And Sarai took Hagar," etc.; the latter *brings out* the fact through a family conference between husband and wife (cf. 16:2 with 16:3); the difference being the same as between an annalist and a novelist]; (e) Sarai's report of Hagar's misbehavior, and Abram's reply (16:5, 6); (2) the fact that these conversations are marked as much by artistic skill as by deep insight into human nature; e. g., (a) the way in which Abram approaches a disagreeable subject: "Behold, I know that thou art a fair woman," etc. (12:11); (b) the way in which he dismisses Lot: "Let there be no strife between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen; for we are brethren. Is not the *whole land* before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me," etc. (13:8, 9); (c) the pathos of Sarai's words: "Behold now, Yahweh hath restrained me from bearing; go in, I pray thee, to my handmaid; it may be that I shall be builded by her;" (d) the natural pride of Hagar at the prospect of becoming the mother of Abram's heir; (e) the prompt and emphatic charge made by Sarai to her husband; (3) the beautiful touches of description: (a) the way in which an Asiatic monarch treats a fair woman (12:15),—she is noticed, praised, taken; (b) the description of the fertility of the "plain of Jordan," "like the garden of Yahweh, like the land of Egypt" (13:10); (c) the description of the

\* These are in so far characteristic of JE, that they cannot go with P, any more than a lawyer's digest should use Miltonic expressions.

future "child of the desert," "he shall be a wild-ass of a man!" (16:12); (d) we almost see the slaughtered animals when we read, "and the birds of prey came down on the carcasses, and Abram drove them away" (15:11).

4) It is *anthropomorphic*. (1) Yahweh appears often and familiarly (12:7; 13:14; 15:1-4 and 17); (2) Pharaoh's plagues come *directly* from Yahweh (12:17); (3) Yahweh's *angel* (it would scarcely be proper, from a *human* point of view, that Yahweh *himself* should appear to a *slave*) holds a long conversation with Hagar even; (4) in Hagar's mind at least, there seems to be no distinction between an angel and Yahweh himself (see 16:13, וּתְקַרָא שֵׁם יְהוָה); (5) the covenant is made by Yahweh's passing between the victims (in the same way as men made a treaty; cf. 21:27-30); (6) Yahweh is *seen* in the form of a burning flame (15:17); cf. Ex. 3:2, "the *burning* bush."

5) It abounds in *historical* and *geographical* references. (1) "The Canaanite was then in the land" (12:6); (2) "having Bethel on the west and Ai on the east" (12:8); (3) "the Canaanite and Perizzite dwelt then in the land" (13:7); (4) "the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners" (13:13); (5) "as thou goest to Zoar" (13:10); (6) "by the fountain in the way to Shur" (16:7); (7) "it is between Kadesh and Bered" (16:14); (8) the origin of the name לְחִי רָאִי (16:14).

6) It is *individual* rather than *generic*. (1) Abram arrives not in *Canaan*, but at the *particular* "place of Shechem;" (2) the location of his tents are *exactly* described; (3) Lot pitches his tent toward Sodom; (4) Abram's *address* is "Mamre's oaks;" (5) the covenant is made, not simply "on that very day," but "when the sun went down, and it was dark" (15:17); (6) the *promised* land is bounded by the river of Egypt and Euphrates (15:18); (7) the angel finds Hagar at a *particular* fountain (16:7).\*

#### 5. MATERIAL OF P AND JE.†

This may be considered under three heads:

1) *Repetition, or duplicate accounts*. (1) Both P and J tell of Abram's arrival in Canaan (P = 12:5b; J = 12:6); (2) both mention Lot as going with Abram (J = 12:4a; P = 12:5a); (3) according to both they subsequently separate (J = 13:11a; P = 13:11b); (4) according to both, God appears to Abram, after the separation, and makes a covenant with him (J = 15:1,9-11,17sq.; P = 17:1-4,10); (5) both relate Hagar's union with Abram, and Ishmael's birth (P = 16:1,3,15; J = 16:1†,2,4,11); (6) both record God's promise to Abram for multitudinous posterity, and through Isaac (J = 12:2; 15:4sq.;‡ P = 17:2b,6,19).

\* All these, from another point of view, indicate *vividness of description*.

† For the sake of convenience and brevity, the "material" and the "theology" of both P and J (or JE) are presented together.

‡ Incorporated by R with P.

§ While there is some doubt whether these verses are J or E, for the purpose in hand it does not matter, since we are comparing the *priestly* vs. the *prophetic*.

2) *Differences* in presentation of material. (1) The *language* and *style*, both of which have been considered in detail elsewhere; (2) P does not know of any family quarrels; e. g., Abram and Lot separate for lack of room simply [cf. 36:7, where, according to the *same* writer, Jacob and Esau also separate merely for lack of land]; and Sarai has no difficulty whatever with *Hagar*; but J, on the other hand, is evidently interested in the "domestic differences" of the patriarchs; (3) P says nothing about Sarai's connection with a foreign court, while the prophetic writers give *two* such accounts, possibly *three* (12:10-20; 20; and also 26:6-12, where Rebekah is, perhaps, only substituted for Sarai, or, if this is the original, Sarai is but a different and expanded version of Rebekah, see Well., p. 320 and note); (4) P locates Abram in ארץ כנען; J, in אלני ממרא; (5) Lot settles, according to P, in ערי הכנר; but according to J, in כנר היכרן; (6) P, consistently, makes Abram, the *father*, name Ishmael (16:15); J, as usual, leaves it with the mother (16:11); (7) P makes *much* of circumcision, J omits it entirely.

3) *Inconsistencies*. Not only do there seem to be *two* accounts, and these to be *differently* presented; but they are *inconsistent*, one with the other. The story of Abram's visit to Egypt (12:10-20), besides other considerations,—such as (1) the fact that it is a story; (2) its diction; (3) its fluent style (all of which bear the imprint of J),—is (4) inconsistent with P's dates; this will appear from the following considerations: ch. 12:4b makes Abram 75 years of age when leaving Haran (or, which is the same, on entering Canaan), and 17:17 tells us that Sarai was ten years younger than Abram; the journey to Egypt took place after their settling in Canaan (probably after Lot had left them, since he is lost sight of in the Egyptian story\*), that is, when Sarai was over 65 years old; that a woman at such an age, however attractive, could so charm the Egyptian court as to endanger her husband's life, is inconceivable. Sarai died at the age of 127. She would therefore be past middle life; but it must be remembered that longevity does not distribute itself equally to all periods of life; it is rather an addition at the end. It is further to be noted that at the age of 90 she is described (18:11,12) as exceedingly old; and the giving birth to a son at this age is understood to be miraculous.

#### 6. THEOLOGY OF P AND J.

1) (1) According to P's representation, God is *exalted* far beyond man's reach, as seen in the fact that (a) God appears only on most important occasions, when he is about to make a covenant; (b) even then he emphasizes his almightiness, 'אני אל שר'; (c) when he appears "Abram falls on his face" (17:3,16); (d) the covenant consists only in *words*, a promise and a command: God is present, but

\* The last clause in 18:1 is probably to be assigned to R. If it were original, Lot would most naturally come after ואשרו.



not *visible*. (2) J, on the other hand, represents Yahweh as *familiar* with and near to man; e. g., (a) he appears, in person or through an angel, quite frequently; (b) he punishes Pharaoh, "for Sarai's sake" (12:17), personally; (c) he sends his angel to restore Hagar to her mistress; (d) to ratify the covenant, Yahweh "passes through the victims" as a "smoking furnace and flame of fire" (15:17).

2) (1) P, persistently and consistently, mentions neither altar nor offering, even at the making of a covenant, while (2) J tells of many altars built (12:7,8; 13:18), and specifies the victims slaughtered for the covenant.

3) (1) The great central thought in P's story, to which all the rest is subordinate and introductory, is the institution of *circumcision*, God's covenant being imprinted on the very flesh of his chosen one and his seed. (2) From J we would never know of circumcision as an institution; and so far as this particular writer\* is concerned, even its existence as a custom would seem to date from Moses' day; cf. Ex. 4:25. See Well., p. 340 and note.

### C. Chapter 14 (= E?).

#### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED TO E.†

14:1-16,21-24 [all worked over by R, who also *added* vs. 17-20 (Well., Kuen., 14 = R *entirely*; Del., = J\*; Kitt., all except glosses‡ = E; 17-20, however, are R on a *basis* of E; K. and S. regard 14 as of entirely peculiar origin)]; 15:1-6 contain some *traces* of E (K. and S., only v. 5 = E).

#### 2. THE STORY OF CH. 14.

"Five kings of the 'valley of Siddim,' who for twelve years had been subject to Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, rebel in the thirteenth year. The Elamite, accompanied by three other kings, marches against the rebels, among whom are the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah. The latter are utterly routed and their possessions carried off as booty by the victorious party. They carry off also Lot and his goods. A fugitive brings the news to 'Abram, the Hebrew,' who immediately arms 318 of his trained men, and with the aid of three *allied* chieftains, pursues the conquerors, and rescues, not only his relative, but also the people of Sodom and their property. On his return, Melchizedek, king of Salem and priest of the 'most high God', brings forth bread and wine, and blesses the Hebrew hero, who reverently gives him a tithe of everything. The offer of the king of Sodom that Abram should retain the restored goods and return only the people, is magnanimously and proudly rejected by the patriarch, who accepts only a portion for the men who were his confederates."

\* J, as distinct from E; the latter has some reference to circumcision in Jos. 5:2, etc.

† No critic claims 14, as it stands and entirely, for E. R's hand is universally recognized. The question is, Where did R get his *basis*, and how much did he add?

‡ Such as in verses 2, 7, 8.

## 3. LANGUAGE OF 14.\*

## 1) "Ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.

(1) Expressions found nowhere else; as (a) בעל-ברית *confederate* (14:13), (b) הָרִיק (with *men*) (14:14), (c) חֲנִיף (14:14), (d) קנה שמים (14:19), (e) אֱלֹהִים (= God) (14:19).

(2) Expressions occurring in no other passage of the Pentateuch; as (a) אֶל עֲלִיּוֹן (14:18), (b) P'el of מָנָן *deliver over* (14:20); (c) העשתי (14:23), (d) שָׁרָף (14:23).

## 2) WORDS OF P.

- (1) רָכַשׁ (14:11,12,16 twice, 21).  
 (2) נַפֵּשׁ *slave, or prisoner of war* (14:21).  
 (3) יָלִיד בֵּית (14:14).  
 (4) מַעֲשֵׂה (14:20), also in D.

## 3) THE FOLLOWING WORDS ARE CLAIMED TO BE CHARACTERISTIC(?) OF E:

- (1) עָרִי הַכֹּכֵב (?) (= P's הככר, and J's נֶכֶד הַיָּרְדֵן (14:3,8,10).  
 (2) מָרַד (14:4).  
 (3) הַפְּלִיט (?) (14:18).  
 (4) בִּלְעָרִי (14:24): cf. 41:16.  
 (5) Also the names of אֲדָמָה and צִבְיִים (in connection with כָּרִם and עֵמָרָה) are said to be E. [In 10:19 these names are said to be inserted by R.]

## 4) WORDS OF J.

- (1) חָמָר (14:10): cf. 11:3.  
 (2) אֶלְנֵי כִמְרָא (= Abram's abode) (14:13).  
 (3) יְהוּדָה (14:22).

## 4. STYLE.

1) On the whole it is prophetic; from the fact that (1) it is easy and flowing;† (2) it is vivid and descriptive;† (3) it abounds in historic and geographic references;† (4) it is decidedly *individual*, as seen (a) in giving the *names* of the contending kings (14:1,2); (b) in describing the nations and localities of those conquered by Chedorlaomer on his way (14:5-7); (c) in naming the places where Abram encountered the conquering armies (verses 14, 15); (d) the reference to Abram's alliance with a foreign chief [cf. 21:22-32a; 26:26-31].

2) On the other hand, it has some of P's peculiarities: e. g., (1) giving exact *numbers*, as (a) the years they served Chedorlaomer (v. 4); (b) the year they rebelled; (c) the year of the Elamite's expedition (v. 5); (d) "four kings with the five" (v. 9); (e) Abram's trained men were 318 (v. 14); (2) being *verbose* and *repetitious*, as seen in (a) the *re-naming* of all the kings in vs. 8,9; (b) their summing up numerically; (c) repetition of certain expressions, as קנה and אֶל עֲלִיּוֹן. וְאֶרֶץ.

## 5. MATERIAL.

1) *Strange phenomena*. (1) The chapter presupposes 13:11,12, in that it mentions Lot as dwelling in Sodom (v. 12), but gives no impression of Sodom's wickedness, related in 13:13, or in chs. 18, 19. (2) Abram, so much afraid of being killed by the Egyptians, according to 12:12, appears *here* as a hero who risks his life for a *nephew*—not his *wife*—and conquers the combined forces of *four* mighty kings. (3) It describes Abram as "the Hebrew," as if he had never been heard of before; the appellation itself, a strange one. (4) The same applies, though with less force, to Mamre being described as the Amorite. (5) It contains

\* The few doubtful verses in 15 may be disregarded for critical consideration.

† All these points are so obvious as to require no illustration.

many glosses by a later hand; as (a) **הוא ים המלח** (vs. 2, 8); (b) **הוא ים המלח** (v. 3); (c) **הוא קדש** (v. 7); (d) **רץ** (v. 14) [a name not given to the place before the account given in *Judges* 18:29]; (e) **הוא עמק המלך** (v. 17). (6) It refers to *Jerusalem* (**שֶׁלֶם** in v. 18 = **ירושלים**), *priest*, *tithes*, and *priestly blessing*, thus presupposing, at least, Deuteronomy. (7) The names of nations, in vs. 5-7, coincide with those in Deut. 2:10-12,20. (8) **ענר**, **אשכל** and **ממרא**, used elsewhere as names of *places*, appear here as names of *people*. (9) There is not the slightest allusion to the strange story here told, in anything that follows it.

2) *Inferences*. (1) It must be from a *late* hand, probably = R, who was acquainted with all accounts and vocabularies. (2) The *original* source of the legend cannot be determined dogmatically, since the characteristics are not decisive. Hence critics differ widely, as indicated on p. 250 and note; some laying more stress on one set of facts; others, on another.

*Remarks*. (1) At first sight, this chapter is strongly against the analysis, since critics differ so radically as to its source. (2) But are there not as many difficulties in the way of the view which makes it a part of a complete narrative? With the exception perhaps of (6) and (7), none of the difficulties enumerated above under 5. 1), p. 251 sq., can be satisfactorily answered. (3) The whole story is so isolated from what precedes and follows, that it can be left out of account entirely without interfering with our inquiry. (4) From another stand-point, it only confirms the critics' position as to the "liberties of R."

#### 6. THEOLOGY.

1) It glorifies *Jerusalem* and its *priesthood*, and justifies the latter's claim to tithes.

2) It has some *peculiar titles* for the *deity*.

3) Otherwise, there is nothing *decisive*, except it be **יהוה** in v. 22.

### X. The Analysis of Gen. 18:1-23:20.

[*Subjects*: (1) The promise of Isaac; (2) Abraham's intercession for Sodom; (3) the rescue of Lot by the angels; (4) Lot and his daughters; (5) Sarah at Abimelech's court; (6) birth of Isaac; (7) Hagar and Ishmael in the desert; (8) alliance between Abraham and Abimelech; (9) the offering up of Isaac; (10) Sarah's death, and the purchase of the cave of *Machpelah*.]

#### A. The Element of P.

##### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

[19:29]\*; 21:1b [for **יהוה** read **אלהים**], 2b-5 (so K. and S.; Well., Kuen., Del. deny 1b to P<sup>2</sup>; Kitt., Del. give also 2a to P<sup>2</sup>); 23:1-20.

\* This, however, belongs before 16:1, see p. 243, last note.

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"God fulfills his promise in time; and when Abraham is 100 years old a son is born to him by Sarah. The child is named Isaac, and is circumcised on the eighth day. Sarah, at the age of 127 years, dies in Kirjath-arba (which is Hebron). Having duly mourned over his wife, Abraham—after much bargaining—purchases the cave of Machpelah from Ephron the Hittite; for which he pays 400 shekels; the property is made sure to him and is set apart as a family burial lot; Sarah's remains are laid away in it."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) אֱלֹהִים (19:29 twice; 21:2b,4; 23:5).  
 (2) עֲרֵי הַכֶּכֶר (19:29).  
 (3) מוֹעֵד (21:2).  
 (4) מוֹל (21:4).  
 (5) אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן (= Abram's abode) (23:2,19).  
 (6) אֲחוּזָה (23:4, 9, 20).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) תּוֹשֵׁב (23:4): cf. Lev. 25:6,23,35,40,45,47, etc.

- (2) מַעֲרַת הַמַּכְפֶּלָה (23:9,19): cf. 25:9; 49:29-32; 50:13.

- (3) כֶּסֶף מָלֵא (23:9): cf. 1 Chr. 21:22,24.

- (4) עוֹבֵר לְסָחוֹר (23:16): only here.

- (5) סָבִיב (23:17): cf. Ex. 16:13; 25:24,25 twice; 27:17; 28:32,34 three times; Lev. 1:5,11; 3:2, etc.; Num. 1:53; 2:2, etc.

- (6) שְׁנֵי חַיִּי (23:1): cf. 25:7,17; 47:9 twice; Ex. 6:16,18,20.

## 4. STYLE OF P.

It is—1) *Chronological and numerical*; as seen in the fact that (1) Isaac is *eight days* old at circumcision (21:4); (2) Abraham is 100 years old (21:5); (3) Sarah dies when 127 years old (23:1); (4) Abraham pays for Machpelah 400 shekels (23:15,16).

2) *Minute, precise, legal*. (1) All the above examples illustrate this point also; (2) Kirjath-arba, which is Hebron, in the land of Canaan (23:2,19); (3) in specifying, every time he mentions *מַעֲרַת הַמַּכְפֶּלָה*, its exact location, and what it included (23:17,19); (4) repetition of *שְׁנֵה* with each number in 23:1.

3) *Rigid, stereotyped*. Note (1) the phrase *אֲחוּזָה קֶבֶר*, 23:4,9,20; (2) all speakers in the bargaining begin with "hear now," 23:6,8,11,13; (3) the different parts of the transaction are introduced by set formulae, as (a) Abraham's speeches by *לֵאמֹר . . . וַיִּדְבֹּר*, 23:3,8,12; (b) those of the Hittites by *עָנָה אֶת אַבְרָהָם* *לֵאמֹר* . . . , 23:5,10,14; (4) Ephron and Abraham talk all the while "in the ears of" the people, 23:10,12,16.

4) *Verbose, repetitious*. (1) 21:3b adds nothing to 1a; (2) just six words, *הַנּוֹלֵךְ . . . שָׂרָה*, (out of twelve words) are superfluous in 21:3; (3) 23:1b is a clumsy repetition of 1a, in which *שְׁנֵה* might twice be omitted; (4) 23:6b is not needed; (5) out of eighteen words in 23:11, only the *first seven* are necessary to express the thought; (6) out of *twenty* words in 23:17, only the first five are needful; (7) the last seven words in 23:19, and *all* of v. 20, might be omitted, so far as concerns the expression of new thought.

## 5. MATERIAL.\*

1) *Remarks.* (1) P has but little material in this section, practically nothing but the transaction of the "cave of Machpelah;" 19:29 (the parenthetical statement about Sodom's destruction) really belongs to the preceding section; while the account of Isaac's birth has been considerably modified by R, 21:1-5. (2) The principal narrative (ch. 23) is very unique, the other documents knowing nothing about it. Hence, neither comparison nor contrast is possible. That it is P, has been shown clearly under "Language" and "Style." (3) The few verses in 21, which are unmistakably P, fall in very naturally with ch. 17. Isaac was promised (17:16,19), Isaac is accordingly born. And, of course, P will tell us about the child's circumcision and the father's age (21:2-5).

2) The following points, though strictly belonging to the *last* section, must be noticed here, because the comparison with J could not have been satisfactorily made before taking up the latter's material: Notice, then, (1) as compared with J, we find the following duplicates in the promise of Isaac: (a) according to both, God appears to announce Isaac's birth (P=17:16,19; J=18:1-14); (b) the announcement is received with laughter (P=17:17a; J=18:12); (c) the *incredulity* is due to Abraham's and Sarah's extreme age (P=17:17b; J=18:11,12); (d) according to both, Isaac is to be born just a year after promise (P=17:21b; J=18:10,14). (2) As compared with J, we find the following duplicates in the story of Sodom's destruction. The single v. 29 of ch. 19 contains (a) the fact that the "cities of the plain" were destroyed (= J in 19:24,25), and (b) the rescue of Lot (= J in 19:16-23); (3) there are also the following *differences* in the announcement of Isaac: (a) according to P, it is Abraham who laughs (17:17a) (which probably accounts for naming the child Isaac (17:19), the whole presentation being consistent with P, who invariably makes the father name the child); while in J it is Sarah who laughs; (b) according to P, Abraham is too old to beget a child (17:17); while from J it would seem that Sarah's age was foremost in mind and the difficulty in the case (18:11b,12b,13b). (4) As to Lot's deliverance, we must note, (a) according to J, he is saved for his *own* goodness (cf. the *whole* story about his *hospitality*; but especially 18:16, *בְּחֶמְלַת יְהוָה עָלָיו*); while P says it is for *Abraham's* sake (18:29); (b) according to J, Lot is sent away *before* the destruction *begins* (so the whole presentation, but particularly 18:22-24); but P tells us he was sent out "*from the midst of the catastrophe*" (18:29). (5) As compared with E, ch. 20 is *incompatible* with *Sarah's age*, as given in 17:17 [cf. (4) under 3), p. 249, last section; the remarks made there are applicable here, but with *greater* force, since there Sarah was only 65 years, while *here* she is 90].†

\* Hereafter, the material will be considered (1) under P, where the priestly narrative will be compared with JE, and (2) under E, where E will be contrasted with J. It will not then be necessary to discuss "material" under J.

† A consideration of ch. 20, in the light of J's account in 18:11,12, will be found, under E's "Material."

3) It has already been indicated that the various accounts about *Isaac's birth*, given in 21:1-7, while clearly *composite in character*, have as yet found no satisfactory analysis. The difficulty is an insignificant one.

#### 6. THEOLOGY.\*

1) Here again, the small amount of material in *this* section compels us to draw our comparisons from *previous* sources.

2) The announcement of Isaac is made by God, according to P, in a *formal* revelation (17:19). Cf. with this J's extreme *anthropomorphism* (18:1-15).

3) According to P, God destroys the cities *directly*; according to J, he uses *natural means*, "sulphur and fire," which probably means volcanic action and lightning.

4) P remembers to tell us about Isaac's *circumcision*; JE, as usual, knows nothing of such an *institution* [cf. 3) (2), p. 250].

5) The whole story of Abraham's purchasing a burial place, is P's way of making the patriarch *legally* hold property in the "land of Canaan," and it is only this writer who takes care to gather Sarah, Abraham, Isaac, Rebekah, Leah and Jacob into it [cf. 25:9; 49:29-32; 50:13]. The other writers do not refer to it.

### B. Element of J.

#### 1. VERSES.

18:1-33 (Well., Kuen., 17-19, 22b-33 = R<sup>d</sup>; K. and S., 17-19 = R); 19:1-28, 30-38 (K. and S., 30-38 = R); 21:1a, 2a, 7, 32b-34 (so K. and S.; Well., 1 = R; 32b, 34 = R<sup>d</sup>; Bud., 6b = J [it belongs, however, after 7]; Kuen., 1\*, 2a [except לִקְרַיִי = R] = P<sup>2</sup>; 6, 7 = E(?); 32-34 = R<sup>d</sup>(?) or J(?); Del., 1 = R, 6-8 = E, 32-34 = J; Kitt., 1a, 7, 6b, 33 = J, but nothing more); 22:20-24 (Well., = E; Bud., = J, and belongs after 21:6b; K. and S., like Dill., except first clause of 20).

#### 2. SYNOPSIS.

"Yahweh and two angels appear, in the form of three men, to Abraham at 'Mamre's oaks.' He receives them very hospitably. Yahweh, as spokesman of the guests, announces that when the season revives, Sarah shall have a son. Sarah, overhearing this remark behind the door, laughs at the idea that at her extreme age, Abraham also being old, she should become a mother. Yahweh takes her to task for doubting his promise. She, abashed, says, 'I did not laugh;' but Yahweh insists that she did laugh. Then the guests depart, and, as Abraham accompanies them, Yahweh tells him confidentially of the fate that awaits Sodom. Abraham pleads for the doomed city, reminding Yahweh that there may be some good people in it for whose sake the entire place ought to be pardoned. He begins with the possibility of fifty just men; but as Yahweh listens to his

\* This heading also will be treated hereafter in the same way as "Material" (cf. note at the bottom of the preceding page).

pleading he comes down to ten; and even for that number Yahweh promises to save Sodom. Yahweh then departs, and Abraham returns home. Meanwhile, the two angels (who started for Sodom when Yahweh and Abraham began their earnest conversation) arrive at the city gate, where Lot receives them politely and invites them to spend the night with him. With some reluctance, they accept his offer, and enter his house. Before they retire, the Sodomites surround the house, and vigorously demand of Lot the surrender of the strangers. Lot steps out to them, locking the door behind him; he begs the mob to respect the right of hospitality, offering even his two innocent daughters to be treated by the rabble at its pleasure, provided they do not disturb his guests. But the blood-thirsty crowd, accusing him of continually playing the judge, rush forward to break in the door. At this point, the angels interfere: they take Lot into the house, close the door, and smite the crowd with blindness. They then instruct Lot to remove all his near relatives from the city; but his sons-in-law laugh at his fears. And so, at daybreak, the angels urge him to take his wife and two daughters and flee for his life to the mountain. Lot prefers to run to Zoar; is granted also this. He reaches this place of refuge, just as the sun appears above the horizon. Yahweh causes brimstone and fire to rain over the doomed cities, and they are utterly destroyed. Lot's wife casts a glance backward—which was *forbidden*—and becomes petrified. But Lot is afraid to remain even in Zoar; so he hides himself in a cave with his two daughters. These, thinking that the whole world perished in the destruction, decide to perpetuate the race by intercourse with their father, whom they bring, for two successive nights under the influence of wine, and thus accomplish their end. This explains the origin of Moab (from the elder daughter) and Ammon (from the younger). A year after, Isaac is born; and Abraham praises God. Just then, Abraham learns that his brother Nahor (whom he had left in Mesopotamia) has raised up quite a family, among others, *Rebekah*, the daughter of Bethuel, the youngest son of eight.”

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (1) יְהוָה (18:1,13,14,17,19 twice, 20,22,23,33; 19:18 twice, 14,16,24 twice, 27; 21:1,33). | (14) הַפְעִים (18:32).                           |
| (2) אֵלַי מִמָּוֶה (18:1).  | (15) יָדַע = sexual intercourse (19:5,7).        |
| (3) אָהֳלִי (18:1,2,3,9,10).  | (16) סָנַר (19:6,10).                            |
| (4) חֹם (18:1).   | (17) רֵק (19:8).                                 |
| (5) לִקְרָאתָ (18:2; 19:1).   | (18) עֵתָהּ (19:9).                              |
| (6) נָא (18:3 twice, 4,21,27,30,31,32; 19:2,7,8 twice, 18,19,20 twice).                     | (19) גִּדְלָהּ (19:10).                          |
| (7) מִצָּא חַן (18:3; 19:19).   | (20) פֶּן (19:17,19).                            |
| (8) עַל-כֵּן (18:5; 19:8,22).   | (21) טָרַם (19:4).                               |
| (9) אִיָּהּ (18:9; 19:5).   | (22) אֹרְלִי (18:24,28,29,30,31,32).             |
| (10) אָף (18:13,23,24).   | (23) הִבֵּט (19:17,20).                          |
| (11) בַּעֲבוּרִי (18:26,29,31,32).  | (24) לִבְלָתִי (19:21).                          |
| (12) יָסַף (18:29).   | (25) מָטַר (19:24).                              |
| (13) חָרָה (18:30,32).  | (26) הוּא אֲבִי (19:37,38).                      |
|   | (27) נֶגֶם-הוּא (19:38; 22:20,24).               |
|   | (28) נִשְׂא עֲנִים וְכִרְ (18:2; 22:4,18 [= E]). |

## 2) NEW WORDS.\*

- (1) שָׁעַן (18:4): only in Num. 21:15 = E.  
 (2) מָהַר (18:6,7): cf. 27:20; 45:9,13; Ex. 2:18.  
 (3) ... עָמַד עַל ( = stand near) (18:8): cf. 24:30; 41:1,17; Num. 14:14.  
 (4) כַּעַת (18:10,14): cf. Ex. 9:18; Num. 23:23; Jos. 11:6.  
 (5) בָּא בִּימִים (18:11): cf. 24:1; Jos. 18:1 twice(?); 23:1(?).  
 (6) חָדַל (18:11): cf. 41:49; Ex. 9:34; 23:5. In P only in Num. 9:13; but in a somewhat different sense.  
 (7) אָרַח (18:11): cf. 49:17. A poetic word.  
 (8) אָמַנָם (18:13): cf. Num. 22:37 = E. A rare word.  
 (9) שָׁקַף (18:16; 19:28): cf. 26:8; Ex. 14:24; Num. 21:20.  
 (10) צַעֲקָה (18:21; 19:13): cf. 27:34; Ex. 3:7,9; 11:6; 12:30.  
 (11) סָפַה *destroy* (18:23,24; 19:15,17): Num. 16:26.  
 (12) חָלִילָה (18:25 twice): cf. 44:7,17; Jos. 22:29; 24:16.  
 (13) נָשָׂא *forgive* (18:24,26): cf. 4:7,13; 50:17 twice; Ex. 10:17; 23:21; 32:32; 34:7; Jos. 24:19.  
 (14) וָאֵל in Hiph'il (18:27,31): cf. Ex. 2:21; Jos. 7:7; 17:12.  
 (15) לֹוֹן (19:2 twice): cf. 24:23,25; 28:11; 32:14,22; Ex. 23:18; 34:25; Num. 22:3; Jos. 8:9; but also Lev. 19:13; Deut. 16:4; 21:23.  
 (16) הַשְׁכִּים (19:2,27; 20:8; 21:14; 22:3): cf.

26:31; 28:18; 32:1,6; Num. 14:40; Jos. 8:3,15; 7:19; 8:10.

(17) מִשְׁתַּח (19:3; 21:8): cf. 26:30; 29:22; 40:20.

(18) פָּצַר בֹּ (19:3,9): cf. 33:11. Not common.

(19) שָׁלַח (19:10; 22:12): cf. 3:22; 8:9; Ex. 3:20; 4:4 twice; 9:15; 22:7,10; 24:11.

(20) לָאָה (19:11): cf. Ex. 7:18; see also לָאָה Ex. 18:8; Num. 20:14 (both verb and noun are quite rare).

(21) חָתִי 19:12,14 twice: cf. Ex. 4:25,26.

(22) שָׁחַר (19:15): cf. 32:25,27.

(23) לִמְחֹזֶה (18:13): cf. 25:22,32; 32:30; 33:15, etc.

(24) עֲבֹדָךְ (= your humble servant) (18:3,5; 19:2,19): cf. 32:5,11,21; 33:5; 44:18, etc., etc.

(25) אָוִין (19:15): cf. Ex. 5:13; Jos. 10:13(?); 17:15.

(26) אָמַשׁ (19:34): cf. 31:12,29.

### 3) WORDS FOUND NOWHERE ELSE IN HEXATEUCH (which are characteristic of the Prophets in so far that they alone use broad vocabularies).

(1) פֶּת (18:5).

(2) בְּלוֹת (= old age) (18:12).

(3) עֵרְנָה (18:12).

(4) סְנוּרִים (19:11): only again in 2 Kgs. 6:18.

(5) נִצִּיב *pillar* (19:23).

(6) קִישׁוּר (19:23 twice): nowhere else except in Ps. twice.

(7) אָשַׁל (21:33).

## 4. STYLE OF J.

It is marked by—1) *Freshness and variety*, even in describing similar scenes and events, as can be seen (1) in comparing the opening verses of 18 with those of 19: (a) וַיִּרְץ לִקְרֹאתָם 18:1, וַיָּקָם לִקְרֹאתָם 19:1; (b) וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ אֲרָצָה 18:2, וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ אֲפִים אֲרָצָה 19:1; (c) וַיַּעֲבֹד מֵעַל עֲבֹדָךְ 18:3, אֵל נָא תַעֲבֹד מֵעַל עֲבֹדָךְ 19:2; (d) עֲנוּת. 18:6, מִצּוֹת. 19:3; (2) in the absence of the stereotyped style, even in 18:23–33, compare (a) how elaborate is the first and *general* petition, 18:24,25, as compared with the subsequent briefer *modifications* of it, 18:27b,28a,29 (*but second clause*), 30a,31a,32a; (b) the *alterations* of the phrases הִנֵּה נָא הוֹאֲלָמִי לְדַבֵּר 18:27,31, and אֵל נָא יַחַר לְאֹדְנִי 18:30,32; while once, v. 29, he omits the introductory phrase entirely; (c) the *different words* in Yahweh's replies: וְנִשְׁאָתִי v. 26; לֹא אֶשְׁחִית v. 28,31,32; לֹא אַעֲשֶׂה vs. 29,30.

\* As heretofore, all JE words will be considered under J, unless they occur *first* in E passages.



2) *Descriptive touches*, as seen (1) in designations of the *time of day*: (a) כחם השמש יצא 18:1; (b) בערב 19:1; (c) וכמו השחר עלה 19:15; (d) השמש יצא 19:28; (e) וישכם אברהם בבקר 18:1; (2) in the use of *circumstantial clauses*, as (a) והוא יושב וכו' 18:1; (b) והוא עמד 18:8; (c) ושרה שמעת 18:10; (d) ולוט 18:10; (e) ואברני זקן 18:12; (f) ואברהם הלך 18:16; (g) ולוט 19:1; (h) טרם ישכבו 19:4; (i) והדלת סגור 19:6; (j) ואת הדלת סגור 19:10; (3) in the employment of *emphatic repetition*, as (a) 18:24, "for the sake of the fifty, etc.;" (b) 19:4, "men of the city, *men of Sodom*;" (c) 19:24b, "brimstone and fire, from Yahweh from heaven."

3) *Vividness*. (1) Study the picture of hospitality presented in Abraham's treatment of his guests: (a) he runs to meet them, 18:2; (b) he entreats them (אֵל-נָא), as a personal favor to him (וְכוּ), not to pass by him, 18:3; (c) they are asked to recline under a tree, 18:5; (d) he makes them feel that they will not be a burden to him, "I will fetch a morsel of bread to stay your hearts," while intending to make a banquet; (e) he prepares the meal with all possible speed, "Abraham *hastens* to Sarah, and tells her to make ready quickly. He runs to the herd...and his servant makes haste to dress the calf," 18:6,7; (f) everything is done from a *full hand*; Sarah is to take *three seahs* (= 75 + lbs.) of fine flour (no three men, or even *angels*, could consume so much in one meal); "he takes a whole calf," 18:8b,7b; (g) he waits on them in person, 18:8b. (2) Abraham's plea for doomed Sodom is *terribly earnest*: (a) he appeals to God's justice: "Wilt thou destroy the righteous with the wicked?" "Shall not the Judge of all the world do right?" (vs. 23,25); (b) he humbles himself now that he is asking a favor (which is in touching contrast to his customary familiarity with Yahweh). (c) But as his request is granted, he *persistence* till he comes down to ten. (3) We have a most *graphic* description of a *mob*: The entire population of Sodom, young and old, surround Lot's house; they cry out to him, "Where are the men who have come to thee to-night? bring them out to us, that we may abuse them," etc. (4) Not less *picturesque* is the rescue of Lot's family by the angels. (5) Note the master-touch in vs. 27,28: Abraham returns to the spot where he entreated God's mercy, and seriously surveys the plain; but he sees it is all turned into smoke.

4) *Stories*. The entire section is a collection of stories: (1) angels' visit to Abraham; (2) attitude of Sodomites towards strangers; (3) Lot rescued; (4) the fate of his wife; (5) Lot's daughters in the cave.

5) *Anthropomorphism*. (1) God and two angels pay Abraham a visit; (2) they all look like ordinary men; (3) they eat a dinner; (4) Yahweh disputes with Sarah about her laughing: she says "I did not;" he insists "You did;" (5) Abraham's bargaining for Sodom; (6) Yahweh cannot conceal anything from Abraham, since the latter is to become great, 19:17,18; (7) Yahweh *goes down* to Sodom to inspect its condition, 18:21; (8) human-like action of the angels in

Sodom; (9) Lot and his family are instructed "not to look back," and his wife actually loses her life for so doing, because Yahweh does not wish man to see His operations (cf. 2:21).

6) *Religious instruction (= prophecy)*. (1) Compare God's nearness to, and interest in, human affairs. (2) The truly good man prays and pleads even for the most degraded sinners. (3) God accepts the prayers of the righteous. (4) Lot is saved for his goodness; Sodom perishes in her wickedness. (5) God's judgments are on the side of mercy; he would pardon the whole place for ten good men.

7) *Puns*, as seen in (1) זָעַר, because מַצֵּר, 19:22b; (2) מֵאֵב, because אָב + מִי or מֵאֵב; (3) בְּנֵי-עֵמֶן, because בְּנֵי-עַם.

### C. Element of E.

#### 1. VERSES.

20 [except v. 18, and וְעִבְרִים וְשַׁחֲוֹת in 14 = R; so K. and S.]; 21:6, 8-21, 22-32a (so K. and S.; Well., also 2a, 7, 33 = E; Bud., Kuen., Kitt., throw out only 6b; Del., also 7 = E); 22:1, 2\*, 3-10, 11\*, 12, 13, 14\*, 19 [15-18 = R] (Kitt., 14-18 = R, who got it from J; he says nothing about 19; Well., 20-24 also = E; K. and S., 14 = R).

#### 2. SYNOPSIS.

"..... From there Abraham moves to the South Land, and takes up his abode in Gerar. He introduces Sarah as a sister, and King Abimelech takes her to his court. God informs the king, in a *dream*, that she is a married woman, and commands him to restore her to her husband, who is a prophet and will pray for him. Abimelech sends for Abraham, and reproaches him for his act of deception. Abraham offers, as an excuse, self-defense, and also the fact that Sarah is a half-sister of his. Abimelech not only restores Sarah, but gives handsome presents to Abraham, and invites him to make his home wherever he pleases. At the prayer of Abraham, Abimelech and his household are restored. [At Isaac's birth] Sarah says, God has made her a laughing-stock; all who hear (of her giving birth to a child) will laugh. (This probably suggested the *name* Isaac.) When the child is weaned, Abraham makes a great feast. Ishmael makes sport; at Sarah's request, Abraham banishes the boy and his mother. He is promised, however, that while Isaac shall be his seed, Ishmael will become a nation. The mother, with the child in her arms, wanders in the desert of Beer-sheba; the water fails. In despair, she drops him beside a shrub and sits at a distance because she cannot see him die. An angel calls encouragingly; God points out to her a well of water. She relieves his thirst and he lives. God watches over the boy; he becomes a great hunter, dwells in the wilderness of Paran and marries a wife from Egypt.

"Abimelech seeks an alliance with Abraham; the latter reproves the former because of a certain well which had been violently taken away. After a denial on

the part of Abimelech, the covenant is entered into. The place is called Beer-sheba, the well of the oath. Abimelech then returns to Philistia.

"God commands Abraham to sacrifice Isaac, his only son, on a mountain in Moriah. Abraham immediately sets out, and reaches the place within three days. The altar being prepared, and Isaac bound, he proceeds to offer him as a sacrifice. But an angel calls down from heaven and informs him that it was only a trial of his faith. Abraham then espies a ram caught by its horns in a bush; this he offers up instead of his son. He, with his attendants, returns to Beer-sheba."

### 3. LANGUAGE.

#### 1) OLD WORDS.\*

- (1) אֲנָכִי (20:8; 21:28).
- (2) עַל-כֵּן (20:6; 21:31).
- (3) רֶקֶב (20:11).
- (4) זָדוֹשִׁים בְּבָקָר (20:8; 21:14; 22:3).
- (5) גִּרְלָה (21:8,20).
- (6) יִלְדָּה (21:8,14,15,16).
- (7) גִּרְשָׁה (21:10).
- (8) הוֹכִיחַ (20:16; 21:25).
- (9) שָׁמַע בְּקוֹל (21:12; 22:18).
- (10) עַל אֲדוּת (21:11,25).
- (11) כִּרְת בְּרִית (21:27,32a).
- (12) שָׁיַח (21:15,16).
- (13) פָּקַח (21:19).
- (14) עֲלָה *to sacrifice* (22:2).
- (15) עֲלָה (22:2,3,6,7,8,18).
- (16) מִזְבֵּחַ (22:9 twice).

#### 2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) אֶרֶץ הַנֶּגֶב (20:1): cf. 24:62; Num. 13:29; Jos. 15:19; Jud. 1:15).
- (2) אֱלֹהִים (20:3,6,11,13,17; 21:6,12,17 thrice, 19, 20,22,23; 22:1,3,8,9,12): no special references are required.
- (3) *vision, revelation* חֲלוֹם (20:3): it is exclusively used in E, outside of Dt.
- (4) גַּם + personal pronouns (20:5,6 twice; 21:26 twice).

- (5) לָבַב (for לֵב) (20:5,6): cf. 31:26; Ex. 14:5; Jos. 7:5; 14:7; but also in Dt. many times, and also in Chron.
- (6) ... לָּךְ *permit* (20:6): cf. 31:7; Ex. 8:19; 5:7; Num. 12:23; 20:21; 21:23; 22:13.
- (7) הִתְפַּלֵּל (20:7,17): cf. Num. 11:2; 21:7.
- (8) תַּעֲרָה (20:13; 21:14): cf. 27:15; Ex. 23:4.
- (9) אָמָה (for שְׂפֹחָה) (20:17; 21:10 twice, 12,13): cf. 30:3; 31:33; Ex. 2:5; 20:17; 21:7,20,26,27,32; 23:12; but also Ex. 20:10 (= P); Lev. 25:6,44; and often in Dt.
- (10) רָע בְּעֵינַי (21:11,12): cf. 28:3; 38:7,10; 48:17; Ex. 21:8; Num. 22:34; 32:13.
- (11) אֱלֹהִים עִם (21:22): cf. 28:20; 48:21; Ex. 18:19.
- (12) חֹפֶר (21:30): cf. 26:15,18 twice, 19,21,22,32; Ex. 7:24; Num. 21:18.

#### 3) RARE WORDS.

- (1) אָמַר לָּךְ, or אָמַר אֵל *say concerning* (20:2,13).
- (2) נִקְיוֹן (20:5).
- (3) אֲמָנָה (20:12): cf. Jos. 7:20.
- (4) חֲמַת (21:14,15,19).
- (5) מִשְׁחָיו (21:16).
- (6) רִקְהָה (21:20).
- (7) גִּיץ (21:23).

### 4. STYLE.

Before taking up in detail the characteristics of E's style, the following anticipatory remarks deserve notice: (1) Being *prophetic*, we may expect him to be in the main like J; (2) with P, however, he has almost nothing in com-

\* J and E, both being *prophetic*, have a great deal in common in vocabulary as well as in style. Hence many words hitherto considered as J, are really JE, and may be called *here* OLD, though E, as such, appears here for the first time.

† See J, this section.

‡ See under "special characteristics" of this author, following page.

§ Cf. J using אֱלֹהִים quite frequently.

mon; his use of אֱלֹהִים\* is only apparently like P, for E continues to use this term for deity throughout his narrative, while P would use יְהוָה even in Genesis, were it not for the question of consistency with his statement in 6:3; (3) the prophetic traits are often more intensely exhibited in E than in J; (4) this writer's material is fragmentary, as we find it, there being no complete or continuous story,—a fact due, in large part, to the similarity of his material to that of J, the two being easily blended, or one substituted for the other: (5) the following special characteristics have been noted and may be stated in general terms by way of introduction: (a) the exclusive use of אֱלֹהִים; (b) the occasional use of the plural form of the verb with the name of God (cf. 20:12; 35:7); (c) the frequent occurrence of dreams, especially as revelations from God (cf. 20:3,6; 28:12; 31:10,11,24; 37:5-8,9,10; 40:9-11,16,17; 41:1-7); (d) frequent reference to angels, as God's representatives, "calling down from heaven" (21:17; 22:11); (e) repetition of proper names in calling (cf. 22:11; Ex. 3:4); (f) statements respecting three days' journey (cf. 22:4; Ex. 3:18; 8:23; 15:22; Num. 18:33); (g) references to the existence of "strange gods" in the families of the patriarchs (cf. 31:19,24; 35:4; Josh. 24:2); (h) the special interest exhibited in places and traditions of northern as over against southern Israel.

1) He is interested in *geography and archaeology*.† (1) Abraham dwells *between Kadesh and Shur*, 20:1. (2) Hagar wanders in the *desert of Beer-sheba*, 21:14. (3) Ishmael makes his abode in the *desert of Paran*, 21:21. (4) His wife is from *Egypt*, 21:21. (5) Origin of the name "Beer-sheba," 21:31.

2) He is *vivid and descriptive*,† as seen (1) in his method of presenting material by means of conversation: (a) God and Abimelech, 20:3-7, in which four points are indirectly brought out; (α) details of the way in which Abimelech came to take Sarah, 20:5; (β) the testimony of God himself to Abimelech's innocence, 20:6; (γ) the representation of Abraham as a *prophet*, 20:7a; (δ) God's threat that he will *avenge* Abraham, if his wife is not returned, 20:3b,7b. (b) Abimelech and Abraham, 20:9-13, informing us of (α) Abraham's motive, v. 11; (β) why she was called sister rather than something else, v. 12; (γ) their standing agreement as to the mode of deception, v. 13. (c) Abimelech and Abraham's alliance, 21:22-30, disclosing (α) Abraham's *prosperity*, v. 22b; (β) that Abimelech's servants, without his knowledge, robbed Abraham of a well, vs. 25,26. (d) *Minor talk*: (α) Abimelech's *offers* to Abraham and Sarah, 20:15,16; (β) Sarah asking Abraham to banish Hagar and her son, 21:10; (γ) God's instruction on this point, 21:12; (δ) Angel to Hagar, 21:17b,18; (ε) God directing to sacrifice Isaac, 22:2; (ζ) Abraham leaving his servants behind, 22:5; (η) Isaac and Abraham in reference to the victim, 22:7,8; (θ) angel to Abraham, 22:12. (2) In the use of *circumstantial clauses*: (a) "for she is a man's wife," 20:3; (b) "having done deeds unto

\* See p. 265, and cf. p. 22 (No. 1 of this vol.).

† It will be noticed that these headings are the same as under J.

me that ought not to be done," 20:9b; (c) "putting it on her shoulder, etc.," 21:14; (d) "since neither didst thou tell me, neither yet heard I of it, etc.," 21:26b; (e) "while I and the boy, etc.," 22:5; (f) "seeing thou hast not withheld, etc.," 22:12; (g) "caught in the thicket by its horns," 22:13.

3) He is highly *dramatic*. (1) In not telling us all the facts at once, but keeping us in suspense till the *denouement* is fully developed, as seen (a) in omitting any motive or reason for Abraham's action in calling Sarah a sister (20:2a), that it may all be explained later (cf. vs. 11,13); (b) in not assigning any reason for Abimelech's taking Sarah to his court, the reader being allowed to infer, from v. 11b, that her beauty must have been so great as to endanger her husband's life; (c) in withholding the result of Abraham's trial till we reach v. 12. (2) In working up toward a *climax*; note (a) in the story of Hagar's banishment (21:14-17), how our sympathies are more and more enlisted: she starts out with scanty provisions, and the child upon her shoulder; she is lost in the desert; the water fails; the unfortunate mother drops the child, and flees from the spot, that she may not see his dying agonies; but just as she breaks out in despairing tears, the angel's voice calls out from heaven; (b) in offering up Isaac, how gradually the reality of the transaction grows upon one: Abraham starts out on a journey with his son and servants; at a little distance from the appointed place he dismounts, and walks alone with Isaac; the latter is made to bear the wood that is soon to consume him; in blissful ignorance, he asks, "Where is the victim?" Abraham answers evasively, "The Lord will provide;" the spot is reached, the altar built, Isaac bound, put on the altar, the knife lifted,—and then the angel interferes. (3) In selecting a *central figure*, and grouping all the events about it, e. g., (a) in the 20th chapter, *Abraham* is the principal actor; Sarah is mentioned as the "woman" (v. 3), "the man's wife" (v. 7); it is Abraham who causes her to be taken to court (v. 2); it is because he is a prophet that she is to be returned (v. 7); the king blames him (not Sarah) for the deception and its consequences; the rewards or presents are given to Abraham; at his prayer, Abimelech's family is relieved; (b) in 21:10-21, Ishmael is the hero; Sarah wants Hagar banished; but the emphasis, after all, is on "her son," for he is not to be heir with Isaac; in the sufferings that follow "the child" is continually emphasized, and heaven itself opens rather to the innocent cry of the boy than to his mother's heart-rending tears; (c) in ch. 22, it is again *Abraham* (not Isaac, strange to say) who is the principal actor; his every movement and word are carefully recorded—from the "saddling of the ass" to the "lifting of the knife." (4) In keeping *one great theme* before him, whatever the details. The selection of characters, though apparently strange, is due only to the selection of thought. What the prophet really wants to tell us is, that God will take care of his own, whatever be their afflictions and trials. Hence the subject is Abraham, *his* troubles about Sarah, Ishmael and Isaac, and how all things "worked together for good" for him who trusted God.

4) He is *prophetic* (furnishing *religious instruction*). He *teaches* us, e. g., that (1) God is interested in human affairs; (2) He watches over those that trust in Him; (3) upright men (heathen even, 20:4,6) are providentially kept from moral evil; (4) He hears the prayer of the righteous (20:7,17); (5) He hears the cry of the innocent (21:17), and (6) provides for them even in the desert (21:19); (7) the good man is prosperous, and his favor is sought after by others (21:22, 23); (8) true faith goes calmly to its task, and attends to the minutest details of duty even when a catastrophe is impending.

5) He abounds in *stories*. The whole material (chs. 20-22) being nothing but a collection of stories.

6) He possesses certain *peculiar\** characteristics. (1) God's appearing in *dreams*, 20:3,6; (2) a *plural* verb with Elohim, 20:13; (3) angels calling down from heaven, 21:17; 22:11; (4) "three days' journey," 22:4; (5) repetition of proper name, in calling a person, 22:11.

#### 5. MATERIAL.

1) *Duplicates*. (1) Chapter 20 seems to be but a different version of 12:10-20†; the general resemblance is striking, since in both (a) Abraham represents her as a sister; (b) the motive being fear for his life; (c) Sarah is taken to a foreign court; (d) God interferes in her behalf; (e) the king as well as his entire household suffer; (f) the foreign prince blames Abraham (note the *similarity of the language*: *מה עשית לנו* 12:18, and *מה עשית לנו* 20:9); (g) Sarah is then restored; (h) Abraham receives a *bonus*. (2) 21:10-21 seems to be a modification of 16:5,14, the points of contact being (a) Sarah's dislike to Hagar and her offspring (*potential* or *actual*); (b) treatment of Hagar in such a way that she leaves (*voluntarily* or *forcedly*); (c) conversation in the desert with an angel; (d) his promise that she shall have a *great future* for her son; (e) a well in the desert. (3) 21:22-31 is essentially the same as 26:26-33, since in both (a) *Abimelech* is king and *Phichol* a commander in chief; (b) they come because of the patriarch's prosperity; (c) they desire and obtain a covenant of peace; (d) the event takes place in Beer-sheba; (e) the name of the place is in some way connected with "seven."

2) *Differences*. These stories, while having resemblances enough to show that they relate to the *same event*, nevertheless vary enough to indicate their literary *independence*; note (1) in ch. 20, as compared with 12:10-20, the following differences in *details*: (a) E places Sarah in *Abimelech's* court at Gerar (20:2), J takes her to Pharaoh in Egypt (12:15); (b) according to E, the suffering or disease of the king and of his house is to prevent him from sin (18:6 in connection with 17); but J refers to it as *punishment* (12:17); (c) the king of Gerar invites Abraham to stay in his country (20:15), but Pharaoh sends him away (12:19b-20); (d) E mag-

\* i. e., not in common with J.

† The consideration of 26:6-11, in this connection, will be taken up later (cf. p. 272 sq.).

nifies Abraham as *prophet* and *intercessor*; J has nothing about this. (2) The two accounts of Hagar's banishment present the following differences: (a) according to E, she is driven out (21:14); J says she was so treated that she fled (16:6); (b) according to E, she leaves Abraham's house with Ishmael on her *shoulder*; according to J, the child is still unborn; (c) in E, *Ishmael* is the *cause* (21:9); in J, *Hagar herself* is to blame; (d) in E, it is Abraham himself who sends her away (21:14); in J, her treatment is left to Sarah (16:6); (e) according to E, she is treated more humanely (21:14) than she is in J's story (16:6); (f) in E, the angel calls down from heaven (21:17); in J, he *meets her* on the road (16:7); (g) in E, she *finds* the well (21:19a); in J, she is *found at* the well (16:7,14). (3) The consideration of 21:22-31 must be deferred till we reach its *parallel*, 26:26-33; but the *principal* differences are, (a) for Abraham (in 21) *Isaac* is put (in 26), (b) different circumstance for *Beer-sheba*.

3) *Inconsistencies*. Not only is E distinct in language, style, and manner of presentation, but also his material is *incompatible* with previous accounts of both P and J. (1) As compared with P, (a) ch. 20 cannot be reconciled by any possibility of interpretation with Sarah's age as given in 17:17. That which is said here of Sarah could not possibly be spoken of a woman ninety years of age. Still further, (b) 21:14-20 is *unnatural* when compared with 16:16; 17:24,25. In these latter passages Ishmael is thirteen years of age when Isaac is promised; hence is fourteen when the latter is born. Ishmael is banished after Isaac is formally weaned (21:8-10). The feast of *weaning* did not take place before the child was three years old. Ishmael was, therefore, seventeen years of age. Now, why or how should Hagar carry such a lad on her *shoulder*? (v. 14). Why should he be so helpless when cast down under the bush? (vs. 15,16). Why should the angel instruct the exhausted mother to "lift up the boy"? (v. 18). Then (2) ch. 20 is not less out of harmony (a) with 18:11,12 (J's statement that Sarah was *very old*). It needs no elaboration; and (b) if this incident at Gerar is simply *another* event by the *same* writer as the author of 12:10-20, is it *conceivable* that Abraham, after his experience in Egypt, would repeat the same deception at Gerar, especially at a time when Sarah's *condition* was so critical? The material, then, *without reference to other considerations*, is irreconcilable with that of either P or J; it must be from a *different* source, and the argument becomes much stronger when we find that just this material, so much out of harmony with what has gone before, has linguistic peculiarities which also distinguish it from the other writers.

4) It is, however, evident that E's matter begins *very abruptly*; "And Abraham moved thence...." Whence? There undoubtedly existed a full history of the patriarchs by the author. [Cf. Jos. 24:2, where the *résumé* begins with Terah.] Perhaps R did not have *all* of this story. Perhaps the early material was so similar to that of J as not to require repetition. The only thing which appears certain is that we have a new writer.

## 6. THEOLOGY.

1) In *general*, this author's view of God's relation to man is about midway between P's stiff superiority and J's aggravating anthropomorphism. We notice (1) God is interested in human affairs, and yet he does not "come down" to find out things; (2) he appears neither formally nor visibly, but in dreams; (3) his visits are frequent, but hardly familiar; (4) angels are employed; but instead of walking about on the highways, they "call down from heaven."

2) It is nevertheless true that his conception resembles J's more than it does P's: (1) *altars* and *sacrifices* are as old as the patriarchs; there is even the possibility of *human* sacrifice in their day. (2) God employs *natural means* (*sickness*, for instance, to prevent intercourse between Abimelech and Sarah). (3) He indeed reveals himself to, and is interested in, a *heathen* prince; but Abraham is his *favorite*.

3) His *monotheism* is not so strict even as that of J: (1) He uses אלהים exclusively; (2) occasionally even with a *plural* verb.

## XI. The Analysis of Gen. 24:1-28:9.

[*Subjects*: (1) Isaac courts Rebekah by proxy, and marries her; (2) Abraham and Ishmael die; (3) Esau and Jacob are born; (4) Isaac and Abimelech; (5) Jacob gets Esau's blessing by deceit; (6) Jacob sent to Paddan.]

## A. Element of P.

## 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

25:7-11a, 12-17, 19, 20....26b; 26:34sq.; 27:46 (Kuen., Del., K. and S. = R); 28:1-9.

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"Abraham, having completed 175 years, dies, and is buried by Isaac and Ishmael in the cave of Machpelah, near Sarah. God's blessing is then transferred to Isaac. [Ishmael having raised up twelve princes (all of whom are given by name), passes away at the age of 137.] When forty years of age, Isaac marries Rebekah, the daughter of Bethuel from Paddan-aram; and he is sixty years old, when they (Esau and Jacob\*) are born. Esau, *at forty*, marries two Hittite women, who are a source of displeasure to Isaac and Rebekah. Isaac accordingly instructs Jacob not to take a wife 'from the daughters of Canaan,' but to go to Paddan-aram and marry one of Laban's daughters. 'And thus *El-Shaddai* will bless thee and make thee an assembly of nations; and Abraham's blessing will be transferred unto thee and thy seed.' Jacob leaves, as directed, for Paddan-aram. Esau, seeing how dissatisfied Isaac is with Canaanitish women, takes, in addition to his wives, a daughter of Ishmael."

\* The names have to be supplied from a different account which R has inserted.



## 3. LANGUAGE OF P.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) שְׁנֵי חַיִּי (25:7,17).  
 (2) גִּזְעַת (25:8,17).  
 (3) מֵעֶרְת־הַמִּכְפֹּלָה (25:9).  
 (4) תְּלִדָּת (25:12,13,19).  
 (5) הוֹלִיד (25:19).  
 (6) אֵל שָׂרִי (28:3).  
 (7) פֶּרֶה (28:3).  
 (8) רִבָּה (28:3).  
 (9) אֶרֶץ מִגְרִיךְ (28:4).  
 (10) אֱלֹהִים (28:4).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) הָאֶמְכָּף אֶל עַמִּי\* (25:8,17): cf. 35:29; 49:29, 33; Num. 20:24,26; 27:13; Deut. 32:50.  
 (2) אַחֲרֵי מוֹת\* (25:11): cf. Lev. 16:11; Num. 35:28; Jos. 1:1 (?); 1 Chr. 2:24; 2 Chr. 22:4; 24:17; 25:25. *But also* Gen. 26:18; Jud. 1:1; Ruth 2:11; 2 Sam. 1:1; 1 Kgs. 11:40; 2 Kgs. 1:1; 14:17.  
 (3) אֱלֹהֵי שְׁמוֹת (25:13,19): cf. 36:10,40; 46:8; Ex. 1:1; 6:16; Num. 1:5; 3:2,3,18; 18:4,16; 27:1; 34:17,18; Jos. 17:3; 1 Chr. 6:2; 8:38; 9:44; 14:4.  
 (4) פָּרַן אֲרָם (for נֹהֲרִים אֲרָם) (25:20; 28:2,5,6,7).

## 4. STYLE.

It is—1) *Numerical*, as seen (1) in the hundred and three score and fifteen years of Abraham's life, 25:7; (2) twelve princes, 25:16; (3) the years of Ishmael were 137, 25:17; (4) Isaac was sixty years old, etc., 25:26b; (5) Isaac marries at forty, 25:20; (6) Esau marries at forty, 26:34.

2) *Systematic*, as seen (1) The *toledoth* of Ishmael, 25:12 (this, it will be remembered, is the *seventh* of a ten-series); (2) The *toledoth* of Isaac, 25:19 (the *eighth* in the series).

3) *Stereotyped*. Note the phrases (1) שְׁנֵי חַיִּי, 25:7,17; (2) יִגְזַע וַיָּמָת, 25:8,17; (3) וַיֵּלֶךְ תִּלְדָּת, 25:12,19; (4) לֹא לְאִשָּׁה, 25:20; 28:9 [cf. 16:3].

4) *Verbose and repetitious*. (1) "These are the days of the years of the life . . . which he lived," 25:7; (2) שָׁנָה repeated with each of connected numerals, 25:7,17; (3) after having given us a *whole chapter* (23) about the legal transaction of the "cave in Machpelah," he tells the story over again in 25:9b, 10; (4) in describing a woman, he not only tells us who her father is, but often also whose sister she is, 25:20; 28:9; (5) that we may be certain of a person's death, he describes it thus: "And he *gave up the ghost*, and died . . . and was *gathered to his people*," 25:8,17; (6) to refresh our memory, he tells us that "Ishmael was the son of Abraham, whom Hagar, the Egyptian, Sarah's servant, bore unto Abraham," 25:12; (7) the customary heading, "and these are the *generations* of Ishmael," is strengthened by, "and these are the names of the *children of Ishmael*, by their names, according to their *generations*," and finally described by "these are the children of Ishmael, and these are their names," 25:12,13,16; (8) all that is really necessary in his material is: six words (out of thirteen) in 25:7; four words (out of ten) in vs. 8,9a,11a; first three words (out of twelve) in vs. 12,13b,14,15; eight words (out of fifteen) in 17; first three words (out of nine) in vs. 19,20a, [a *verse which R omitted*], 26b; 26:34sq.; six words in 27:46a, and six words in 27:46b (or twelve out of twenty-one); 28:1-5a,8,9 (omitting the last clause); that is, only fifteen verses out of twenty-five.

\* I myself should not call it *characteristic* of P.

5) *Cold and lifeless.* Nothing but a *register* of deaths, births and marriages, as follows: (1) deaths; (a) Abraham's, 25:7-10; (b) Ishmael's, 25:17; (2) births; (a) Ishmael's twelve children, 25:12-15; (b) Isaac's two children; (3) marriages; (a) Isaac and Rebekah, 25:20; (b) Esau with Judith and Basemath, 26:34; (c) Jacob goes to find a wife, 28:1-5; (d) Esau with Mahalath, 28:6-9.

#### 5. MATERIAL.

1) *Duplicates.* (1) Isaac bestows his blessing on Jacob (JE = 27:1-40; P = 28:1a, 8sq.); (2) Jacob is sent away by his parents to Rebekah's people (JE = 27:41-45; P = 27:46; 28:1b, 2, 5).

2) *Differences.* As usual, P knows nothing of *family difficulties*. (1) Jacob gets his blessing simply because he leaves home; there is no cheating or rivalry between him and Esau. (2) Jacob leaves home simply because his parents do not wish him to marry in the neighborhood; no hatred on the part of Esau, no fear on Jacob's part.

3) *Omissions.* We find nothing in JE about (1) Abraham's death, (2) Sarah's death, (3) Ishmael's death. Some critics\* think the *first*, at least, existed, but was omitted by R.

#### 6. THEOLOGY.

This section of P contains no material of a theological nature.

### B. Element of J.

#### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

25:5, 11b, 18a (Well., Kuen., Kitt., 25:1-6, 11b; Del., 25:1-6, 18, 11b; K. and S., 1-5, 11b, 18 to **מְצִירִים**); 24 [except 62, 67b and **שְׂרָה אִמּוֹ** in 67a = R] (Well., Kuen., K. and S., give also 62 and 67b [except **אִבְנֵי אִמּוֹ**], claiming that there existed an account of Abraham's death immediately after v. 62. They also leave this chapter *before* 25, in its natural place. So also Del., who, however, omits 67b); 26:1b, first three words of 2, 3a, 7-14, 16sq., 19-33 [first three words of 1, 2 beginning with **וַיֹּאמֶר**, 6 = E; 3b-5 = R<sup>a</sup>; **אֲבִרָהָם... מְלִכָּר** in 1a, 15, 18 = R] (Well., 1a, 15, 18 = R<sup>a</sup>[JE]; 2-5 = R<sup>a</sup>; Kuen., 1a, 3b-5 = R<sup>a</sup>; 15, 18 = R<sup>a</sup>[JE]; Del., 26:1-33\* = J, worked over by R, expanded by D<sup>2</sup>(R<sup>a</sup>) in vs. 2-5, and supplemented by R from E in vs. 6-33, specifically in 6, 26, and 32; Kitt., 7sq., 26, 28-33 = R from E(?); 15, 18 = R; K and S., **אֲבִרָהָם... מְלִכָּר** in vs. 1, 2b, 3b-5, 15, 18 = R; otherwise all these critics assign 26:1-33 to J); 25:21-34 [except 26c = P<sup>2</sup>, and traces of E in 25, 27] (Well., 24-26ab = E(?); Kuen., Bud., K. and S., all agree with Dill.; Del., 24-26ab, 27-34 *may be* E or J); 27:1-45 [= JE; J is found, though not separable in (7), 15, (20), 24-27, 30a to **אֵת יַעֲקֹב**, 35-38, 44b or 45a,

\* See Dill., *Gen.*, 5th ed., p. 302, under 66sq.

etc. See *E* below] (Well., J apparent in 7,20,24-27,30a,33sq.; so Del., adding a trace of J in 46; so Kitt., adding 15 in part, 29b,35-38,45, but omitting 33sq.; K. and S., 1a,2-4a,5-10,14sq.,17,18a,20,24-27, last three words in 28,29b-32 [except 30 אָבִי...אֶת יִיְהוָה], 35-39a,40-43,45 = J; all the rest = E, except 46 = R).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"Abraham gives all his property to Isaac, who settles down at Beer-lahai-roi. Being old and prosperous, Abraham adjures his steward not to take a wife for Isaac from the Canaanites, but from his own family. The servant takes a solemn oath to comply with these conditions, and sets out for Aram-naharaim, to the city of Nahor (Abraham's brother). Then follows a long and detailed description of the interview with Rebekah and her return with the servant to become Isaac's wife. Isaac takes her to the house and marries her. He moves to Gerar, where Yahweh appears to him and renews his covenant made with Abraham. Rebekah he represents as a sister, fearing lest the people may kill him because of her beauty. After some days, Abimelech, the king of Gerar, notices that the relations between Isaac and Rebekah are too familiar to be merely fraternal. He reproves him for a misrepresentation which might have led to sinful consequences; but issues a proclamation to his people to let this man and wife alone. Isaac devotes himself to agriculture, and is so successful that he arouses the jealousy of the king. He is thus compelled to move to the valley of Gerar, where his servants find a spring; the shepherds of Gerar, however, contest their right to its use. The same thing is repeated at their second attempt to procure water; but when the third well is dug there is no trouble. From there Isaac goes to Beer-sheba, where Yahweh appears and comforts him; he builds an altar. King Abimelech and his commander-in-chief, Phichol, come to him, and desire to make an alliance with him, which he accepts. Then his servants find a well which he calls *Shebah*; hence the name of the place, Beer-sheba. Rebekah being childless, Isaac prays to Yahweh, who hears him, and Rebekah conceives. Twins are to be born, who will continually strive for supremacy, but the elder will be subject to the younger. In the fullness of time, the first child comes out red and hairy, and they call it Esau; the other comes out holding his brother by the *heel*, hence his name Jacob. As they grew up, Esau became a hunter; while Jacob was a shepherd. Isaac loved Esau, but Rebekah preferred Jacob.

"Once, when Jacob was boiling pottage, Esau comes in from the chase very tired, and requests some. Jacob says, 'Sell me your birthright for it.' Esau replies, 'I am at the point to die; what profit shall the birthright do to me?' Jacob makes the bargain sure by an oath, and gives the pottage to his brother, who, having satisfied his appetite, departs, despising his birthright."\*

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\* Ch. 27 will be considered by itself, p. 278sq.

## 3. LANGUAGE OF JE,\* OR J.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) בָּא כִּימִים (24:1).  
 (2) יְהוָה (24:1,3,7,12,21,26,27 twice, 31,34,40,42,44, 48 twice, 50,51,52,56; 25:21,22,23; 26:2,12,22,24,25, 28,29; 27:7,20,27).  
 (3) שִׁים (24:2,9,33,47; 27:37).  
 (4) נָא (24:2,12,14,17,23,42,43,45; 25:30; 26:28; 27:2,3,9,19,21,26).  
 (5) אָרֶץ וּמוֹלָרַת (24:4,7).  
 (6) אֲנֹכִי (24:3,13,24,27,34,37,42,43; 25:22,30,32; 26:24 twice; 27:19).  
 (7) טָרַם (24:15,45; 27:4,33).  
 (8) יָדַע (= sexual intercourse) (24:16).  
 (9) אֹוִלִי (24:5,39; 27:12).  
 (10) פֶּן (24:6; 26:7,9).  
 (11) רַק (24:9; 26:29).  
 (12) לִקְרֹאת\* (24:17,65).  
 (13) לֶוֶן (24:23,25,54).  
 (14) עָמַד עַל (24:30).  
 (15) בַּחוּץ (24:31).  
 (16) הוֹכִיחַ (24:14,44).  
 (17) מָהָר (24:18,48; 27:20).  
 (18) נִשָּׂא עֲנִים (24:63,64).  
 (19) אָהַל (24:67; 25:27; 26:25).  
 (20) יָלַד (with father) (25:3).  
 (21) וְתָהָר (25:21).  
 (22) שָׁקַף (26:8).  
 (23) וַיַּעֲתֶק מִשֶּׁם (26:22).  
 (24) כַּעֲבוּר (26:24; 27:4,10,19,31).  
 (25) מִזְבֵּחַ (24:25).  
 (26) כִּרַּת בְּרִית (26:23).  
 (27) עָתָה (26:29; 27:3,8,36,43).  
 (28) הִשְׁכֵּם בִּבְקָר (26:31).  
 (29) עַל-כֵּן (25:30; 26:33).  
 (30) שָׁמַע בְּקוֹל (27:8,13,43).  
 (31) אָךְ (27:13,30).  
 (32) גַּם + pers. pron. (27:31,34,38).  
 (33) צִעֲקָה (27:84).  
 (34) מִקְנֶה (26:14 twice).  
 (35) עָפַר (26:15).  
 (36) חָפַר (26:15,18 twice,19,21,22,32).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) הַשְׁמַר לָךְ (24:6): cf. 31:24,29; Ex. 10:23; 19:12; 34:12; and often in Deut.  
 (2) שָׁכַם (for כָּתַף) (24:15,45): cf. 9:23; 21:14; 48:22; 49:15; Ex. 12:34.  
 (3) טָבַח מִרְאֵה (24:16; 26:7).

- (4) הִצְלִיחַ (24:21,40,42,56): cf. 39:2,3,23.  
 (5) עָשָׂה חֶסֶד (24:12,14,49): cf. 40:14; 47:29; Ex. 20:6; 34:6,7.  
 (6) חֶסֶד וְאֵמֶת (24:27,49): cf. 47:29; Ex. 34:6.  
 (7) קָדַר וְהִשְׁתַּחוּוּהוּ (24:26,48): cf. 48:23; Ex. 4:31; 12:27; 34:8.  
 (8) עָתָר (25:21): cf. Ex. 8:4,5,24,25,26; 9:23; 10:10,17.  
 (9) לָאֵם (25:23 thrice; 27:29).  
 (10) מָדוּעַ (26:27): cf. 40:7; Ex. 2:18; 3:3; 5:14; 18:14; Jos. 17:14.  
 (11) גָּרִי עִוִּים (26:9,16): cf. 33:17,20,23; Ex. 23:19; 34:26.  
 (12) מִשֶּׁשׁ (27:12,21,22): cf. 31:34,37; Ex. 10:21.  
 (13) תִּירֵשׁ (27:28,36): cf. Num. 18:12.  
 (14) שָׁטַם (27:41): cf. 49:23; 50:15.  
 (15) שָׁכַל (27:45): cf. 31:33; 42:36; 48:14 twice; Ex. 23:26.  
 (16) זָקָה (used adverbially) (25:22,32; 27:20,21, 24,36).  
 (17) אָחָר (as verb) (24:56): cf. 32:5; 34:19; Ex. 22:28.

## 3) RARE WORDS.

- (1) הִקְרָה (24:12; 27:20).  
 (2) נִמָּא (24:17).  
 (3) מִשְׁתַּאֲהַ (24:21).  
 (4) מִגְרִנוֹת (24:53).  
 (5) הִלְיָה (24:65).  
 (6) צִעִיף (24:65).  
 (7) עָנִיף (25:29,30).  
 (8) הִלְעִיט (25:30).  
 (9) שְׁעָרִים (26:12).  
 (10) עֲבִידָה (26:14).  
 (11) סָתַם (26:15,18).  
 (12) עָשֵׂק (26:20).  
 (13) תִּלְיָה (27:8).  
 (14) מִטְעָמִים (27:4,7,9,17).  
 (15) מִתְעַתֶּעַ (27:12).  
 (16) חֲמִרָה (27:15).  
 (17) חִלְקָה (27:16).  
 (18) מִשְׁמָנִי (27:23,30).  
 (19) אִפְּוֹא (27:33,37).  
 (20) תִּרִיד (27:40).  
 (21) פָּרַק (27:40).  
 (22) וַיִּבְרַךְ (24:11).  
 (23) אִצְלָה (27:36).  
 (24) בִּמְרוֹמָה (27:36): cf. 34:13.

\* E being doubtful and brief in this section, the vocabularies of JE are considered together.

## 4. STYLE OF JE.

It is — 1) *Free and flowing*. (1) There is not found a formal statement in the entire narrative, although the *aim*, of course, is the same as that of P, viz., to describe the *origin* of Jacob and Esau and their *relation* one to another. We may note (a) how gracefully Rebekah is introduced (ch. 24); (b) how the whole future history of Israel and Edom is summed up in the few words of the oracle (25:23); (c) how the character of the two boys is depicted in a story (25:29-34); (d) how thrilling is the manner in which Jacob obtains his blessing; and (e) how, after all, this is only the writer's method of sending him to Aram. (2) There is order, to be sure, in this material, but *no system*. We feel from the very start (25:23) that Jacob is the hero; still Esau is kept in sight. He appears as a side-light all along, and is at last brought into reconciliation with his brother (32:4sq.). (3) The transition from one topic to another is easy, scarcely noticeable; e. g., (a) ch. 24 begins with Abraham, but we are soon lost in Isaac's courtship by proxy; (b) a step changes Rebekah's girlhood into maternity, and thus, naturally enough, we are introduced to Jacob, the most important of all the patriarchs.

2) *Full of stories*. These may merely be indicated: (1) Abraham's servant and Rebekah (24); (2) Rebekah's hard maternity (25:21-23); (3) Esau and Jacob as children (25:24-28); (4) Jacob gets the birthright (25:29-34); (5) Rebekah in Gerar\* (26:6-11); (6) Isaac's experiences in Philistia (26:12-33); (7) Jacob obtains the blessing (27:1-40); (8) his flight to Laban (27:41-45).

3) *Dramatic, poetic, picturesque*. Only a few out of many points may be cited: (1) the presentation of material through conversation; e. g., (a) Abraham's ideas on *intermarriage*, as well as his utter separation from his birthplace, could not be more emphatically expressed than in the solemn talk between him and his servant (24:2-9); (b) the servant's talk; his prayerful soliloquy, his inquiries of Rebekah, and her artless answers, his direct and pointed story to her parents; (c) the business-like speech of Laban and Bethuel, Laban's welcome (v. 31), the acceptance of the proposal (vs. 50, 51), the effort to detain Rebekah (vs. 55-58); (d) Jacob's bargain with Esau (25:29-32); (e) the account of the blessing, Isaac and Esau (27:1-4), Rebekah and Jacob (vs. 6-13), Jacob and Isaac (vs. 19-21), Esau and Isaac (vs. 31-40), Rebekah's last words to Jacob (vs. 42-45). (2) *Human nature* depicted: (a) The servant in his prayer shows a calm confidence that Yahweh will "act kindly" to his master; (b) as soon as he learns the parentage of the girl he feels confident of success, and thanks Yahweh; (c) Laban's hospitality, unbounded—but due to the rich character of the gifts bestowed upon his sister; (d) business before pleasure; for the servant refuses to eat till he has told his errand; (e) the *servant's* story is a masterpiece of simplicity and shrewd-

\* Here the order of the chapter is followed.

ness: he touches but briefly on salient points, but is careful to tell just what would attract his listeners, and to omit what would arouse their prejudice or ridicule. Note how he expands Abraham's possessions; "flocks and cattle, and silver and gold, men-servants, maid-servants, and camels and asses" (24:35); Isaac's providential birth, "אֲחֵרִי זִקְנָתָהּ" (v. 36); Abraham speaks of his "land and birthplace" (v. 4); the servant invariably speaks of the closer family ties, "my family and my father's house" (v. 38); he *omits* the injunction "not to take Isaac back;" (f) the rough humor of Esau is characteristic: "I am going to die anyway, what profit shall the birthright do to me?" (25:32); (g) the sly inventiveness of Rebekah. (3) *Descriptive touches*: (a) *time of day*; cf. "at the time of evening" (24:11); "in the morning" (24:54); "at the even-tide" (24:63); "the same night" (26:24); "they arose early in the morning" (26:31); (b) *manner of action*, as seen in "let down thy pitcher that I may drink" (24:14); "with her pitcher on her shoulder" (24:15); "she let down her pitcher upon her hand" (24:18); "she emptied her pitcher and ran again" (24:20); "he stood by the camels at the fountain" (24:30); "he ungirded the camels, and gave, etc." (24:32); "I put the ring upon her nose, and the bracelets upon her hands" (24:47); "that I may turn to the right hand or to the left" (24:49); "he lifted up his eyes and saw" (24:63,64); "looked out at a window" (26:8); "take thy weapons... go out to the field, and take me venison" (27:3); "lifted up his voice and wept" (27:38). (4) *Dramatic coincidences*: "Before he had done speaking, Rebekah came out" (24:15); Isaac is out in the field, when Rebekah arrives (24:63); Rebekah happens to hear Isaac's instructions to Esau (27:5); Jacob was yet scarcely gone out, when Esau came (27:30). (5) *Words and actions indicative of character*: (a) the faithfulness of Abraham's servant is seen in his prayer (24:12-14); his thankfulness to God for his success (24:26,27,52); his desire to return immediately (24:54,56); (b) the character of Rebekah is clearly presented: she is kindly, offering her service to a stranger (24:18,19); *active*, for she hastens and runs (24:18, 20); *direct* and *explicit*, in answering questions (24:24,25,58); *modest*, veiling her face when first meeting Isaac (24:65b); *pious*, going to seek God in trouble (25:22b); *ingenious*, looking for every favorable opening for her favorite son (27: 6-10; 11,15,16; 42-45).

4) Characterized by *puns*. (1) Esau, because hairy; (2) Jacob, because holding the heel; (3) Edom, because of the *red* pottage; (4) *יַעֲקֹב מִצְחָק* (26:8); (5) Rehoboth, because God made broad (26:22); (6) Esek, because they *had trouble* with him (26:20); (7) Beer-sheba, because of the "seven." (8) Esau bitterly remarks that "Jacob is well named, because he had supplanted him" (27:36).

5) *Prophetic*. (1) God guides the servant in making a right choice of the woman who is to be Israel's mother; (2) Abraham had faith to believe that God would do so; (3) readiness to serve is the sure sign of a right heart; (4) Isaac's prayer is answered; (5) God watches over Isaac and Rebekah, though they have

foolishly exposed themselves to danger; (6) Isaac prospers in spite of trouble with the Philistines, because Yahweh is with him; (7) in spite of imperfections of the patriarchs, God works out his great plans through them.

#### 5. MATERIAL.

1) Under J, as such, we have to consider only ch. 26, of which vs. 6-11 are claimed to be a duplicate not only of ch. 20 (= E), but also of 12:10-20 (= J). (1) In a comparison with ch. 20, the points of *contact* are, (a) the *place*, *Gerar*; (b) the *king*, *Abimelech*; (c) a *patriarch* representing his *wife* as a *sister*; (d) because of fear for his life on account of his wife's beauty; (e) Abimelech, on discovering the deception, blames the patriarch for his conduct; (f) the patriarch explains that he acted in self-defense. (2) Noticeable *differences* are, (a) according to E it is Abraham and Sarah; according to J, Isaac and Rebekah; (b) E makes the danger of the woman *actual*; J, only *possible*; (c) according to E, Abimelech learns the fact of her true relation to the patriarch by God's appearing in a *dream*; but in J he finds it out *casually*, by looking through the window; (d) consistently enough, J omits the part about *presents* given to the patriarch, the infliction of disease on the king and household, and the prayer of the patriarch for their restoration.

2) When compared with J's other account, (1) few and feeble points of contact are to be noticed, as (a) a patriarch and wife sojourn in a strange land; (b) they represent themselves as brother and sister; (c) the king of the land, on learning the deceit, censures the husband, who pleads self-defense as an excuse. (2) The points of divergence, on the other hand, are many and marked: (a) in ch. 26, the *place* is Gerar in Philistia; in 12, *Egypt*; (b) *here* it is Rebekah and Isaac; *there*, Sarah and Abraham; (c) here the woman is never separated from her husband; there she is actually taken to the Egyptian court; (d) Pharaoh discovers the reality by plagues; Abimelech, by observation; (e) the Egyptian naturally makes recompense; the Philistine has no occasion to do this; (f) Pharaoh sends the deceitful couple out of his borders; Abimelech issues a proclamation "not to touch the man and his wife."<sup>\*</sup>

3) The following *remarks* may be included here: (1) It is highly improbable that the three accounts before us are of three different events; for it is unreasonable to suppose that Abraham would repeat such a disastrous experiment, or that Isaac would not have profited by his father's double experience. (2) The questions which relate to the age of the venerable women concerned in the stories, increase the difficulties enormously. (3) It will be noticed that J's stories have practically nothing more in common than the palming off a wife for a sister; while E's anecdote closely resembles both of the others. In other words, E is the connecting link: from the story of Rebekah and Abimelech (ch. 26) there was

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\* Isaac is dismissed from Gerar, but later and for a different cause (26:16).

developed the story of Sarah and Abimelech (ch. 20), which in turn became that of Sarah and Pharaoh (ch. 12). (4) It is well to remember that even if *Moses* was the author of these stories, they are not the *records* of an eye-witness, but received traditions, which, passing from mouth to mouth, necessarily underwent certain changes and modifications from generation to generation. These varied versions often became in the course of time independent stories, if the changes became too essential and too great to look at them as mere variations of the same theme. This seems to explain the double story of J. (5) Ch. 26 bears all the marks of originality: (a) it is the briefest; (b) it is the simplest; (c) it contains nothing supernatural; (d) it has nothing *strange* in it; (e) there is no attempt at edification (or undeserved glorification of the patriarch).

4) It is also to be noted that vs. 26-33 are a duplicate of 21:22-32 (= E): (1) for points of *resemblance*, see under "Material," p. 263; (2) for points of *difference*, see "Material" on p. 263-4. But in addition, the following points may be mentioned: (3) in ch. 26, Isaac receives his would-be allies very coldly at first, and hints that they have not treated him well; while Abraham is very ready to make a treaty; (4) with Isaac, they remain over night; (5) Abraham gives Abimelech seven sheep; (6) the first two points, viz., the names of the king and chief commander, being the same, and the different *origin* assigned to *Beer-sheba*, seem sufficient to make the stories come from different authors. But add to these the minor points of difference enumerated above, and note the fact that the *first* story uses אֱלֹהִים, while the second has יְהוָה, and the case becomes still more clear.

### C. The Element of E (or better, JE).

#### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

25:1-4[6 = R] (Well.,(?) Bud., Kuen., Del., Kitt., agree in assigning 1-6 to J.; K. and S., 1-5 = J, 6 = R); 25:25\*,27\* [fragments] (Well., 24sq.(?); Bud., Kuen., K. and S., no trace of E in 25; Del., J or E.; Kitt., 27sq. = E and J *in common*; 25,26a = E); 26:1\*,2\*,6 (Well., Kuen., Kitt., K. and S., no trace of E.; Del., traces in 26,32a); 27:1-45 in part [especially 21-23,30b,33sq.; 44b = 45a<sub>1</sub>, one of which = E] (Well., 1,18,21-24,28,30b,35-38 = E; so Kuen., Del.; Kitt., 1b,4,11,13, 15 partly, 18,21-23,28,30b,38b,34,42; K. and S., 1b beginning וַיֹּאמֶר (after הַגִּרְלָה), 4b,11-13,16,18b beginning with אָבִי, 18,21-23,28a,29a,30a<sub>1</sub>,33,34,39b,44).

#### 2. SYNOPSIS\* OF CHAPTER 27.†

"Isaac, being old and blind, calls his favorite son, Esau, and tells him to take some game and prepare it according to his taste, and in return he will give him his final blessing. Rebekah, overhearing the conversation, calls Jacob, her son,

\* The synopsis here given takes no notice of its *composite* nature.

† The *few* other *doubtful* verses of E may well be disregarded, since they contain only the names of *Keturah's* children, which she bore to Abraham.



and informs him that Esau is about to receive the paternal blessing. She commands him to go to the flock and get two young kids, and she will prepare them for his father. He will take them in, and receive the blessing. Jacob objects that the blind father may *feel* him, and thus discover that he lacks the *hair* characteristic of Esau's skin, and, if thus caught, he will be cursed rather than blessed. His mother assures him that she will assume the responsibility of the curse, if he will only do as she bids him. He complies. (The remainder of the story may be passed over.) By this deception Jacob secures the patriarchal blessing; Esau is indignant and determines to kill Jacob. Rebekah sends him away to her brother in Haran, where he is to remain till Esau becomes calmer, when she will send for him."

[*Remark.* The language and style of ch. 27 were considered under J, since the *prophetic* writers are so similar in these respects as to make it impossible, in this case, to discern their elements, except in so far as "Material" is concerned.]

#### 5. MATERIAL OF CHAPTER 27.

1) The *composite* character of this story is evident, because (1) יְהוָה occurs *three* times (vs. 7,20,27), אֱלֹהִים is found in 28. (2) Unnecessary, even *inexplicable*, *repetition* occurs: (a) vs. 18,19 tell of Isaac's asking Jacob, "Who art thou, my son?" and of Jacob's replying, "I am Esau, thy first-born;" (b) in vs. 21-23, Isaac, still incredulous, feels Jacob, and is satisfied that it is Esau, "*and so he blessed him.*" The whole matter, then, is *settled*. But in v. 24, Isaac asks again, "Art thou my son Esau?" and Jacob says "I am." Then in v. 26, Isaac says, "Draw near and kiss me, my son," and then he blesses him, saying, "The smell of my son is like the smell of a field which the Lord hath blessed;" (c) in vs. 33, 34, Isaac tells Esau that somebody else got the blessing, and Esau cries bitterly and asks to be blessed also; in vs. 37,38, we have the same thing repeated: Isaac enumerates the blessings bestowed on Jacob, and says, "What now can I do for thee?" Esau replies, "*Bless me too, my father!*" and *lifts up his voice and cries*. These facts are sufficiently *similar* and at the same time different enough to warrant the conclusion that R has combined *two accounts*.

2) It is true on the other hand that it is not possible from these duplicate statements to make two *complete* and consistent stories. The introductory part (vs. 1-14) and the conclusion (vs. 41-45) are probably drawn from one of the sources, or else are so thoroughly combined, that their distinctive marks are obliterated.

3) This chapter, it must be confessed, furnishes a strong argument against the analysis not only because of the lack of agreement among the critics, but also because it is impossible to make out two accounts; but the case is not so bad if only the work of R is admitted. Similar work has often been found; yet here he seems to have treated his original materials more freely than usual.

## XII. The Analysis of Gen. 28:10-33:17.

[Subjects: (1) Jacob's dream and vow; (2) his marriage with Leah and Rachel; (3) marriage with Bilhah and Zilpah; (4) birth of eleven sons and Dinah; (5) his share in the flocks of Laban; (6) trouble with Laban; (7) he elopes, is overtaken, makes a treaty; (8) his meeting with Esau.]

## A. The Element of P.

## 1. VERSES.

29:24,29 (K. and S., also 28b); 30:4a,9b(?) (K. and S., give *both* to J); 31:18 (K. and S., first clause of 18 = E).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

[The fact of Jacob's marriage with Leah and Rachel is *not* formally told; probably omitted by R, who gives the fuller prophetic account]. "...And Laban gave Zilpah to Leah, and Bilhah to Rachel, as servants. Bilhah is given by her mistress to Jacob; so also Zilpah by Leah. Then Jacob collects his possessions in order to go back to his father in Canaan."

## 3. LANGUAGE.\*

## OLD WORDS.

(1) רָכַשׁ.

(2) רָכַשׁ (twice).

(3) פָּרָן אֲרָם.

(4) אֲרָץ כְּנָעַן—all of them in 31:18.

## 4. STYLE.

Brief and broken as the material is, it still bears the imprint of P in that it is *verbose* and *repetitious*; e. g., (1) 29:24b adds nothing; (2) so 29:29b can be omitted without loss; (3) all that is needed of 31:18a is *וַיִּנְהַג אֶת כָּל רִכְשׁוֹ*, and the last two words of the verse might also be left out, so that only eight words out of twenty-one are necessary.

## 5. MATERIAL.

In this case, what is to be said may best be put in the form of *remarks*.

1) It is evident that we do not have three complete accounts of Jacob's sojourn in Laban's house; and yet, if there existed separate documents, each must have contained some account of Jacob's marriage with Leah and Rachel and with their servants. But

2) It must be remembered that whatever may have been the *modus operandi* of R, he never records a duplicate account of *simple* facts.† In this case, why should he narrate *three* times, in as many words, that Jacob married such and such women? It would be the height of absurdity to do this. He accordingly takes the fullest and most satisfactory account, which here happens to be from E.

\* There being but *few* verses, and some of these *doubtful*, no *new* words are found, and but four *old* words.

† This will explain such an omission as the birth and naming of Esau and Jacob from P's story before 25:26b.

3) Yet 31:18 (the only verse which bears the undoubted stamp of P) not only can be omitted, since it is practically a duplicate of v. 21a, but is entirely out of keeping with the general tenor of the story. (1) *Four* expressions are unmistakably characteristic of P, being such as occur repeatedly in his material. (2) Its very repetitious character breaks in on the smooth, graceful style of the narrative as a whole. (3) After the prophetic writer has told us of Jacob's determination to return to his "native land" (v. 13), and that he was encouraged by his wives to obey the divine command, he would scarcely insert in 18b the utterly useless words "to come to Isaac his father, to the land of Canaan;" especially when the exciting episode about *teraphim* occurs in the next verse (19).

4) *As usual*, P knows nothing about family troubles: Jacob went to Paddan to get a wife; he returns after accomplishing his purpose, but not because of Laban's ill-treatment.

#### 6. THEOLOGY.

The absence of the theological element is quite conspicuous: (1) The daily life of the patriarchs (with the exception of a few special and formal theophanies) is barren of all religious worship. (2) This is especially noticeable in the case of Jacob: he leaves home to seek for the wife who is to be the mother of Israel; he sojourns many years in the land from which Abram was by special command sent away; he marries according to the instruction of his parents, and begets the children who are to become the tribes of Israel;—still no sacrifice or offering is made to God for his providential care, not even a prayer is addressed to the Deity. (3) Nor does God, on his part, descend to take part or interest in human affairs; He gives no encouragement to Jacob as he leaves home, nor does he send any word to him to return.

### B. The Element of J.

#### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

28:10, 13-16, 19a, (21b), [19b, 21b = R] (Well. denies 10; 19b, 21b = R<sup>d</sup>; Kuen., 13-16, 21b = R<sup>d</sup>; 19b = R; Del., like Dill., exc. 10 = R; 21b = J; Kitt., like Dill., but makes also 11a = JE; K. and S., like Dill., exc. 10 = E); 29:2-15a, 26, 31-35 (So Kitt.; Well., only 26, 31-35 = J; Kuen. gives no analysis of 29 sq.; Del., like Dill., exc. 26; K. and S., like Dill., exc. 14b-15a = E); 30:3b, 4sq., 7sq., [4a, 9b = R?] 9-16, 20b, 22c, 24b [21 = R or J; 22a = P<sup>2</sup>(?)], 25-43 [exc. 26, 28 = E] (Well., 9-16, 20b, 24, 25-43 [exc. fragments in 25-30, and 32-34 = E, also perhaps 40a exc. the first three words, and *המקלות... ויחמו* in 39; *בשקות... לשתות* in 38 = gloss]; Kuen., no analysis; Del., no analysis of 1-24, but distinguished by name of Deity; 25-43 = J, with fragments from E; Kitt., 3b, 4sq., 7, 9-16, 20b, 24b, 25, 27, 29-43; K. and S., like Dill., exc. 5, 8, 26, 28 = E); 31:1, 3, 21 in part, 25, 27\*, 46\*, 48\*-50 [46b, 48a = R from J elsewhere; 47 = gloss, or perhaps from E elsewhere] (Well., 1, 3, 25a, 27, 38-40, 46, 48a, 50\* [*יעקב*] in 46, 47, 48b, 49 exc. *והמצפה*, 50 from *אין* on =

R]; Kuen., in practical agreement with Dill. and Well.; Del., 1-3, 25, traces in 26-28, 46, [47 = E], 48, 49 exc. **והמצפה אשר אמר** = R, 54; Kitt., 1, 3, 25, 27, 51sq. [exc. **מצפה** = gloss]; K. and S., substantially like Dill.); 32:4-14a, 23 [33 = R] (Well., 4-9, 14a [10-13 = R<sup>a</sup>], 23-33; so Kuen., exc. 23sq. not mentioned; Del., like Dill., but adds 2sq. (*sic?*); Kitt., like Kuen., but omits 4; K. and S., like Dill., but adding 25-32); 33:1-17 [exc. 4\*, 5, 11a = E] (so practically all).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"Jacob starts from Beer-sheba for Haran. Yahweh renews to him the promise of numerous descendants, and assures him of His constant presence. On awaking Jacob feels that Yahweh is in that place, and so he names it Beth-El.\* He then notices flocks around a well, which is covered with a great stone requiring the strength of all the shepherds to move it. On learning that they are from Haran he inquires for Laban. He is told that Rachel will soon be there with her father's flocks. When she appears, Jacob removes the stone, waters her cattle, and introduces himself. Laban, hearing of his arrival, receives him cordially; but he must marry the older daughter before the younger can be given him. [So he marries them both.†] Yahweh, seeing that Leah is not so much loved as her sister, makes her fruitful, while Rachel remains childless. Leah gives birth to Reuben, Simeon, Levi and Judah. Rachel offers Bilhah to Jacob, and Dan and Naphtali are born. Then Leah gives Zilpah to Jacob, and Gad and Asher are born. Reuben finds some mandrakes, for which his mother secures Jacob's attentions for a night. . . . Zebulun is then born; [but God†] also opens Rachel's womb, and Joseph is born. Now Jacob's wish is to return home; but Laban desires him to stay. Jacob reminds his father-in-law of his faithful work as a shepherd, and that it is time to do something for himself and family. A bargain is finally made that Jacob shall remain as shepherd, and get such lambs as may be spotted. Laban removes all such sheep of the flocks left in Jacob's charge, and separates them from him by putting them in his son's care, at a distance of three days' journey. But by a trick Jacob succeeds in securing so many spotted lambs that he soon becomes rich. Laban's sons begin to murmur that Jacob is getting all their father's property. Yahweh advises Jacob to go back to his father's home, and so he steals away. But Laban overtakes him, and demands an explanation of his strange conduct. Matters are explained, and a stone-heap is erected as a witness between them. Jacob then sends messengers to Esau to greet him. They return with the announcement that Esau is coming with an army of four hundred men. Jacob is greatly frightened, and divides his camp in *two*, so that, if Esau destroys one, the other may escape. He then offers a fervent prayer reminding Yahweh of His promise of innumerable posterity. He rises in the night and takes his family

\* Cf. P's version, 35:6, 9-15.

† This has to be supplied from E.

across the Yabbok. He notices that Esau and his men are coming; he places each mother with her children separately, Rachel and Joseph in the safest position (*i. e.* hindermost), while he himself takes the most perilous station, going foremost. He approaches Esau in great humility, falling seven times on the ground; next the servants and their children do the same, also Leah and her little ones, and finally Joseph and Rachel. Esau is finally induced to receive the present sent him, and he offers to proceed together with Jacob. The latter refuses this and other favors; so that Esau returns to Seir, while Jacob goes to Succoth.<sup>77</sup>

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) יְהוָה (28: 13, 16, 21; 29: 31, 32, 33, 35; 30: 24, 27, 30; 31: 3, 40; 32: 10).  
 (2) ... נָצַב עַל (28: 13): cf. 18: 2.  
 (3) ... נִבְרַךְ בִּי (28: 14).  
 (4) אֲנֹכִי (28: 15, 16; 30: 3, 30; 32: 12).  
 (5) לִקְרֹאתָ\* (29: 13; 30: 16; 32: 7).  
 (6) וְתָהָר (29: 32, 33, 34, 35; 30: 5, 7).  
 (7) עָתָה (29: 34; 30: 30; 32: 5, 11).  
 (8) הַפֶּעַם (29: 34, 35).  
 (9) עַל-כֵּן (29: 34, 35; 31: 48; 33: 10, 17).  
 (10) נָא (30: 14, 27; 32: 12; 33: 10 twice, 14, 15).  
 (11) מִצָּא חֵן וְכִי (30: 27; 32: 6; 33: 8, 10, 15).  
 (12) בְּנִלָל (30: 27).  
 (13) מִקְנֶה (29: 7; 30: 29; 33: 17).  
 (14) שִׁית, שִׁיט (30: 36, 40, 41, 42; 31: 21; 32: 13; 33: 2).  
 (15) מוֹלָדָת fatherland (31: 3; 32: 10).  
 (16) עִבְרִי (= I) (32: 5, 11).  
 (17) לֵוִי (32: 14, 22).  
 (18) נִשָּׂא עֵינַיִם (33: 1).  
 (19) יָלַד (32: 23; 33: 1, 2, 6, 7, 13, 14).  
 (20) לְמַה-זֶּה (33: 15).  
 (21) אָהֵל (31: 25).  
 (22) אָחַר (as verb) (32: 5).

## 2) NEW WORDS.\*

- (1) פָּרִיץ (28: 14; 30: 30, 43): cf. 33: 29; Ex. 1: 12.  
 (2) אֶבְיָן (28: 16): cf. Ex. 2: 14. Outside, only in poetry.

(3) עָרַר (29: 2 twice, 3, 8; 30: 40; 32: 17 twice, 20): nowhere else in Hex.

(4) גָּלַל (29: 3, 8, 10): cf. 43: 18; Jos. 5: 9; 10: 18.

(5) מִאֲיִן (29: 4): cf. 42: 7; Num. 11: 13; Jos. 2: 4.

(6) בִּשְׂר relative (29: 14): cf. 37: 27. Outside, rare. P = שְׂאָר בִּשְׂר.

(7) נָחַשׁ (30: 27): cf. 44: 5 twice; 15 twice; Num. 23: 23; 24: 1. But also Lev. 19: 26; Dt. 18: 10.

(8) נָהַל (33: 14): cf. 47: 17; Ex. 15: 13.

## 3) RARE AND POETIC WORDS.†

(1) פָּצַל (30: 37 twice, 38): nowhere else.

(2) מִחֻשָּׁף (30: 27).

(3) קָשַׁר *be early* (30: 41, 42).

(4) עָטַף *be late* (30: 42 twice).

(5) דָּרַב *being pressed* (33: 13).

(6) חִבַּק (29: 13; 33: 4): cf. 48: 10. Poetic (?).

(7) פָּתַל (30: 8 twice): very rare.

(8) דּוֹרָאִים (30: 14 twice, 15 twice, 16).

(9) נָקַב *name, express* (30: 23): rare.

(10) רִהֲטִים (30: 38, 41): cf. Ex. 2: 16. Rare.

(11) הִנָּחַת *put up a tent* (31: 25 twice): very rare.

(12) צָפָה (31: 49): nowhere else but in poetry.

(13) לָאֵט (33: 14): nowhere else in Hexateuch.

Very rare.

(14) וְכֵן לֹא יִעָשֶׂה (29: 26): cf. 34: 7. Outside of Hexateuch only in 2 Sam. 13: 12.

## 4. STYLE.‡

It is characterized by—1) *Ease and smoothness.* (1) The transitions from one story to another, numerous as they are, are neither formal nor abrupt.§ (2) The

\* Here JE words also are considered.

† The first five of this list are "Απαξ λεγόμενα, *i. e.*, they occur in no other connection, though in the connection where they appear they may be repeated.

‡ For the sake of brevity and compactness all that J and E have in common will be considered here. Special characteristics of E will be found in their proper place, p. 283.

§ This point needs no illustration.

various incidents are naturally, even logically, arranged; but there is no subordination of all to one central idea or purpose.\* (8) While they all relate to important, if not critical, points in the patriarch's life, minor details are given due prominence.\*

2) *Vivid description.* (1) *Conversational style*; e. g., (a) Yahweh with Jacob (28:13-15); (b) Jacob's solemn soliloquy (28:16,17 [= E]†); (c) Jacob's vow (28:20-22 [= E]); (d) Jacob and the shepherds (29:4-8); (e) Jacob's bargain for Rachel (29:15,18,19 [= E]); (f) Jacob and Laban, after the cheating (29:25-27); (g) Rachel and Jacob—first outburst (30:1b,2 [= E]); (h) Rachel and Leah, about the mandrakes (30:14b-16); (i) Jacob's business bargain with Laban (30:25b-34); (j) Jacob and his wives in the field (31:5-16 [= E]); (k) Laban's last quarrel with Jacob (31:26-32a,36-44 [= E]); (l) the treaty at Gilead (31:46-53a); (m) Jacob and his messengers (32:5-7,17b-21 [= E]); (n) Jacob's prayer (32:10-13); (o) Jacob and the angel (32:27-30 [= E]); (p) the two brothers meet again (33:5,8-15). (2) *Human nature depicted*; e. g., (a) Jacob vows to serve God, provided God will treat him well (28:20b-22 [= E]); (b) Laban's deception of Jacob in the case of Leah (29:23,26); (c) Rachel's impetuosity; Jacob's impatience (30:1,2 [= E]); (d) Leah makes the most of the mandrakes (30:15,16); (e) Jacob's contrivance (30:37-39,41); (f) the consultation in secret (31:4b), Jacob's presentation of the case to his wives, the women favor him of course (31:5-16 [all = E]); (g) the departure; the father's pursuit; blame and justification on both sides; finally, peace established;—a Shakspeare could not have made it more vivid! (h) brotherly reconciliation, how touching! (33:4 [= E]); (i) Jacob's way of refusing Esau's company (33:13,15b).

3) *Poetic pictures and indications of time and season*; e. g., (1) Jacob's first night on the road (28:10-16); (2) pastoral environs of Haran (29:2-9); (3) Jacob's first meeting with Rachel (29:10-12); (4) the world of romance in the few words, "And the seven years seemed unto him a few days, because of the love he had to her!" (29:20b); (5) the contrast, when Jacob's flocks meet Esau's men; (6) Jacob's "night of agony" at the "pass of Yabbok" (?); (7) the several divisions of Jacob's family, one after another, bowing silently before Esau, till his compassion is stirred; (8) the embrace of the two brothers; (9) "the sun was set" (28:11 [= E]); (10) "in the evening" (29:23 [= E]); (11) "in the morning" (29:25 [= E]); (12) "in the days of wheat-harvest" (30:14); (13) "in the evening" (30:16); (14) "on the third day" (31:22 [= E]); (15) "in the morning" (32:1 [= E]); (16) "the day breaketh" (32:27 [= E]); (17) "the sun arose" (32:32 [= E]).

4) *Puns, or etymological derivations*; as (1) *Beth-el* = God's house (28:17 = E; 16,19 = J); (2) *ראה-בעני* = *ראובן* (29:32); (3) *שמעון* = *שמע* (29:33); (4)

\* These points need no illustration.

† Any point or illustration, when referring exclusively to E, will be indicated thus: [= E].

לוי = ליה (29:34); (5) יהורה = הורה (29:35); (6) דני = דני (30:6); (7) נפתלי = נפתלי (30:8); (8) בגר = גר (30:11); (9) אשר = אשר (30:13); (10) יששכר = שכר (30:18); (11) זבלון = זבלני (30:20); (12) יוסף = יוסף (30:23 = E), or = יסף (30:24 = J); (13) גלעד = גלעד (31:48); (14) מצפה = מצפה (31:49); (15) מחנה = מחנה (32:3 = E); (16) פניאל = פניאל (32:31 = E); (17) סכות = סכת (33:17); (18) ישראל = ישראל (32:28 = E).

5) *Anthropomorphisms*. (1) God appears frequently (28:13; 31:3). (2) Man is on familiar terms with his Creator, as seen in the fact that (a) Jacob promises service to God simply for services rendered by God to him (28:20-22 [= E]); (b) Yahweh distributes his blessings, as it were: Rachel, beautiful and beloved, is barren; while Leah, homely and disliked, is fruitful (29:31); (c) God comes to Laban to tell him not to maltreat Jacob. (3) Jacob fights and conquers an angel\* (?) (32:25-28).

6) *Religious instruction*. (1) God watches over his children (28:13-15). (2) "Heaven's gate" is wherever a devout heart locates itself (28:17-18 [= E]). (3) The despised of man is often favored of God (29:31). (4) The righteous, while feeling that God's mercies are far above their deserts (32:11), are yet bold in prayer (32:12,13).

#### 5. MATERIAL.

This will be considered under E.

#### 6. THEOLOGY.

[Both J and E are here considered.]

1) *God's nearness to man*. We need not enlarge upon this. Cf. above, under "Style," 5) "anthropomorphism."

2) *Altars and religious worship* are as old as humanity: Jacob raises a pillar and pours libations upon it (28:18 [= E]), and offers a sacrifice (?) (31:54). (This may mean simply *killing for meat*; the expression, however, is most naturally interpreted of sacrifice.)

#### C. Element of E.

##### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

28:11sq., 17-22 [19a (?) = JE; 19b, 21b = R] (Well., 10-12, 17sq., 20, 21a, 22; so Kuen., and K. and S.; Del., like Dill.; so Kitt., exc. omitting 19, 21b); 29:1, 15b-30 [exc. 24, 29 = P<sup>2</sup>, and 26 = J] (Well., 1-30, exc. 24, [28b], 29 = P<sup>2</sup> (?), and 26 = J; Kuen., no analysis; Del., like Dill., except 1 = J; Kitt., like Dill.; K. and S., like Dill., exc. they add 14b, 15a, and give also 28b to P); 30:1-3a, 6, 8, 17-24, 26, 28 [exc.

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\* This is the ordinary view. It must be noted, however, that (1) no angel is mentioned, but אֱלֹהִים twice (32:29, 31), and שׂאִי once (32:25); (2) the celestial combatant *could not* overcome his earthly antagonist except by striking a blow on the thigh; (3) he desired to leave at *daybreak*; (4) he concealed his name.

20b,22c,24b = J; 22a = P<sup>2</sup>; 21 = R or J; 32-34 = E "hardly;" (Well., 1-8 [exc. 3b and בלהה שפחת רחל in 7 = R]; 17-24 [exc. 20b,24b = J; 21 = R], fragments in 25-30, and 32-34; Kuen., no analysis, but is guided by אלהים, which gives 6,8,17sq.,20,22sq. = E, then 25-43; so Del., exc. 25-43 = J; with fragments of E; Kitt., practically like Dill.; K. and S., like Well., but add 26, 28, like Dill.); 31:2,4-17,19sq.,21\*,22-24,26,28-45\*,47\*,51-54 [exc. 10,12, יעקב in 45; parts of 47,51-53 = R] (so Well., exc. adding 25b, and omitting 39-40; Kuen., practically like Well.; Del., 1-3 = J; 4-17,19-24 = E; 26-45 = E with parts of J; 47,50-53 = E; 54 = J; Kitt., 2,4-9,11,13-17,19-21,22-44 [exc. 25 and 27], 45 [exc. יעקב, 46,48a,50,53; K. and S., like Dill., exc. 47 = R]; 32:2sq., 4 partly, 14b-22,24-32,[33 = R] (Well. and Kuen., 2sq.,14b-22; Del., like Dill., exc. 2sq. he assigns *apparently* to J, and adds 33 to E; Kitt., like Dill., exc. 25b-32; K. and S., 1-3,14b-22,24); 33:4\*,5,11a (so Well. and Kuen., but adding 8; Kitt., like Dill., except 5a; K. and S., 5 *last clause*, 11).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"On his way, Jacob puts up for the night in a certain place, where he dreams of steps reaching to heaven, on which God's angels go up and down. Jacob feels it must be a holy spot; and so in the morning he makes the stone upon which he rested his head in the night, a *pillar*, and pours out libations upon it. He names the place Beth-el; and vows that, if God will watch over him, he will establish His worship in this place and will give Him tithes of all his possessions. He then proceeds to the land of the sons of the east. [He comes to Laban\*] and spends a month with him, at which time Laban proposes to pay him for his labor. Now Laban has two daughters; Leah, the elder, has weak eyes, but Rachel, the younger, is very beautiful. Jacob is in love with the latter, and offers seven years of labor for her hand. Laban is satisfied, but at the end of this time he substitutes Leah for Rachel. When Jacob discovers it in the morning, he demands Rachel. Laban agrees to give her also at the end of the week, provided Jacob will serve seven additional years. He does so; Rachel remaining the favorite. Rachel being childless, envies her fruitful sister, and feels that she must have children, or die. She gives her servant Bilhah to Jacob, and Dan and Naphtali are born. Leah gives birth to two more children, Issachar and Zebulun. Then God remembers Rachel, and gives her Joseph. Jacob now proposes to take his family and depart from Laban, but the latter wishes to retain him at any cost. They finally agree that Jacob shall have a share in the flocks. He sees, however, that Laban's attitude toward him has changed; he calls Rachel and Leah to him in the field, narrates to them all his grievances, and also that an angel has told him in a dream to go home. The women, naturally enough, join with him and encourage him to leave; he departs without

\* This must be supplied from J.



telling Laban. In addition, Rachel steals her father's *teraphim*. He crosses the river and flees toward Mt. Gilead. On the third day, Laban learns of the departure, pursues with some friends, and on the seventh day overtakes Jacob at Mt. Gilead. But in a dream, God warns him not to treat Jacob unkindly.\* Laban asks Jacob to explain why he led away his daughters like war-captives, and did not permit their father to bid them farewell; and, further, why he stole his (Laban's) gods. Jacob explains his sudden departure as due to his fear of Laban, and declares that the person in whose possession the gods shall be found, shall die. Though searched for, they are not found, because Rachel had put them in the camel's furniture and sat upon them. Laban failing to find them, Jacob blames him severely for his unjust suspicions, and reviews briefly all the past wrongs which he had endured. Laban proposes peace, and a heap of stones is raised up, which neither of them is ever to pass with evil purpose toward the other. They take an oath, and Jacob makes a sacrifice upon the mountain, and invites the company to a solemn feast. After spending the night here, Jacob proceeds on his way. Meeting a *host* of angels, he names the place *Mahanaim*. He then sends messengers and presents to Esau, instructing them to salute him and to tell him of his coming. During the night he sends all his household across the river, and, remaining alone, a man wrestles with him till morning; unable to overcome him, he dislocates Jacob's hip-bone. Hence Jacob becomes *Israel*; and the angel blesses him. Though lame, he goes forward to meet Esau. The meeting is a pleasant and affectionate one. Jacob introduces his family, and asks his brother to receive his present."

## 8. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) לֹוֹן (28:11; 81:54).
- (2) הַשְׁכֵּם בִּבְקֹר (28:18; 82:1).
- (3) אֱלֹהִים (28:12, 17, 20, 21, 22; 30:2, 6, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23; 81:7, 9, 11, 16 twice, 24, 42, 50; 82:2, 3, 29, 81; 83:5, 11).
- (4) הִבָּה (29:21; 80:1).
- (5) דִּוִּן (30:6).
- (6) חֹרֶה (30:2; 81:35, 36).
- (7) וְהָרָה (30:17, 19, 23).
- (8) הַפֶּעֶם (30:20).
- (9) נָתַן (= permit) (81:7).
- (10) מִקְנָה (81:9, 18).
- (11) נִשְׂא עֲנִים (81:12; 83:5).
- (12) עֵתָה (81:18, 19, 23, 44).
- (13) אֲנִכִּי (28:20; 30:1, 2; 81:13, 33, 39).
- (14) מוֹלָדָת (= birthplace) (81:13).
- (15) אִמָּה (80:2; 81:33).

- (16) שִׁים (28:11, 18 twice, 22; 81:34, 37; 82:17).
- (17) אָהֵל (81:33 five times, 34).
- (18) מִשֵּׁשׁ (81:34, 37).
- (19) הַשְׁמֵר לָךְ (81:24, 29).
- (20) פֶּן (81:24).
- (21) עֲבָדָךְ (= humble servant) (82:19, 21; 83:5).
- (22) גַּם + pers. pron. (83:19).
- (23) יָלַד (83:5 twice).
- (24) אִמִּשׁ (81:29, 42).
- (25) שָׁמַע בְּקוֹל (80:6).
- (26) עַל-כֵּן (80:6).
- (27) הוֹכִיחַ (81:37, 42).
- (28) כִּרְת בְּרִית (81:44).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) ... פָּנַע פָּנַע (28:11; 82:2; cf. Num. 35:19, 21; Jos. 2:16; 19:11 twice, 22, 26, 27, 34; but also Jos. 10:7 = P.

\* This is the meaning of 81:24b. Cf. v. 29, where he says, "I have the power to *ill-treat* you, but God said not to speak *good* or *evil*."

- (2) כָּנַע (30:2): cf. Num. 22:16; 24:11.  
 (3) תְּמוּל שֶׁלֹשׁוֹם (31:2,5): cf. Ex. 4:10; 5:7,8, 14; 21:29,36; Jos. 3:4; 20:5. Also in Dt. twice.  
 (4) הִתֵּל (31:7): cf. Ex. 8:29.  
 (5) יִרֶה throw (31:51): cf. Ex. 15:4; 19:13 twice; Num. 21:30.

- (6) חָנַן (33:5,11): cf. 43:29; Ex. 33:19 twice, etc.

### 3 RARE AND POETIC WORDS.

- (1) מֵרָאשׁוֹתָיו (28:11,13): nowhere else in Hex., and rare outside.  
 (2) קָלָם (28:12):\*  
 (3) מִשְׁכֶּרֶת (29:15; 31:7,41): rare.  
 (4) רָפָה *deceive* (29:25): nowhere else in Hex. and poetic.  
 (5) זָכַר (30:20 twice):\*  
 (6) זָבַל (30:20):\*  
 (7) מִנִּים (31:7,41): only here.  
 (8) תִּרְפִּים (31:19,34,35): nowhere else in Hex., and rare outside.

- (9) הִרְבִּיק *overtake* (31:23): very rare.  
 (10) נָמַשׁ *let, permit* (31:23): nowhere else in this sense.  
 (11) הִסְכִּיל (31:29): nowhere else in Hex., and rare.  
 (12) אֵל + יָד (31:29): rare.  
 (13) נִכְסָף (31:30 twice): poetic.  
 (14) פָּר *cushion* (31:34):\*  
 (15) חִפֵּשׁ (31:35): cf. 44:12. Poetic.  
 (16) רָלַק *pursue ardently* (31:36):†  
 (17) רָחַל (31:38; 32:15): poetic.  
 (18) חִיָּב (31:40): nowhere else in Hex., and poetic.  
 (19) קָרַח (31:40): nowhere else in Hex., and poetic.  
 (20) נָמַק (32:26,26): ἄ. λεγ. as a verb.

### 4. STYLE.‡

Here may be added some of E's special characteristics, as seen, e. g., in

- 1) His use of *dreams* as a mode of God's revelation: (1) 28:12; (2) 31:10,11; (3) 31:24.  
 2) *The frequency of the appearance of angels to men*: (1) 28:12; (2) 31:11; (3) 32:2; (4) 32:25sq.  
 3) The mention of *strange gods* in patriarchal households, 31:19,24.

### 5. MATERIAL.

Though in this section J and E are interwoven, we note the following:

- 1) *Duplicates*. (1) Jacob's vision in Bethel [E = 28:12; J = 28:13-15]; (2) v. 17 [= E] is parallel to v. 16 [= J], and is a *clumsy* addition which *one* writer would not make; (3) 31:51-53 is an inexplicable repetition of 31:48-50; (4) v. 24, in ch. 32, is unnecessary, to say the least, after v. 23; (5) both tell of some arrangements between Jacob and Laban about *wages* [J = 30:31-34; E = 31:7,8]; (6) there is some dissatisfaction with Jacob's gain [J = 31:1; E = 31:2,5]; (7) both relate an attempt on Jacob's part to reconcile Esau [J = 32:4-6; E = 32:14b-21].

- 2) *Differences*. (1) E, as usual, calls the vision a *dream*; J, while representing it in the night and in sleep (v. 16), speaks of it as a real theophany. (2) In E the principal feature is the *angels*, ascending and descending; in J it is Yahweh's promise. (3) The Ephraimite, naturally enough, makes the most of Jacob's consecrating Bethel, and regarding it as *God's house* (vs. 17,22); J, on the

\* "Ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.

† "Ἀπ. λεγ. in this sense.

‡ Cf. also *Style* under J., pp. 273-280.

other hand, represents the patriarch as almost surprised (note יְהוָה in v. 16) to find Yahweh in that place, and so he simply names it Beth-el. (4) According to J, *Jacob asks* for the "spotted and dotted, etc." at one time, and Laban freely grants it [30:31-34]; according to E, Laban offers one after the other to get the better of Jacob [31:7,8]. (5) J consistently makes Laban's sons murmur against Jacob [31:1]; but E makes Laban himself act meanly [31:2,5,43]. (6) According to J, Esau answers Jacob's messengers with an army; from E it would appear that he (= Esau) came for the purpose of reconciliation as requested by Jacob [cf. 32:7 and 33:1-3 (= J) with 33:4 (= E)]. (7) To all these must be added the difference in the name of the Deity.

3) *Inconsistencies*. Jacob's extraordinary anxiety about the encounter with Esau as depicted by J [32:8-13], is incompatible with E's account of his power and courage in combating a heavenly being [32:25-29]. True, Esau came with 400 men, but Jacob also had numerous slaves [30:43], and had people enough for two camps [32:8]. Besides; if naturally heroic, instead of dividing his forces that some might escape, he would have concentrated them that he might resist.\*

4) *Omissions*. That there are such is evident. They can be classified as follows: (1) Such *statements of fact* as (a) Jacob's marriage; (b) the birth of his children; (c) motive and mode of Jacob's flight,—all these are, strictly speaking, told but once. But we must remember (a) that both prophets are very likely in such matters to agree, at least substantially, and (b) that E could not fail to see the identity of such stories (the case being quite different with the stories concerning Sarah and Rebekah, as sisters), and so he joined them together; leaving, however, the variations in a rather unsatisfactory form. This will also account for (2) the omission of connecting words and phrases which the analysis naturally brings to light.

5) *Remarks*. (1) The individual variations of critics, touching this section, many and arbitrary as they may be, are due to special considerations. They are unanimous as to the existence of an analysis. (2) This section, it is universally admitted, is very unsatisfactory: (a) the duplicates and differences relate wholly to details, not to general narratives; while (b) the omissions are many and important. (3) If it were necessary to rely wholly on this section, no critic would claim an analysis. But when (a) the preceding material, (b) the material which follows, and (c) the *legal* argument (not touched upon as yet, but to be discussed later on) show the existence of an analysis, the facts enumerated above concerning this material fall into line without difficulty. (4) Whatever difficulty may attend the separation of J and E, the writer P, as opposed to both of them, is always distinct and decisive.

\* The massacre of *Shechem* [ch. 34 = J] is in full accord with J's presentation here: Jacob's family do not dare an open fight, but entrap the simple natives by a device (34:18); moreover, when Simeon and Levi accomplish the slaughter, Jacob is afraid lest surrounding tribes attack and destroy him.

## 6. THEOLOGY.

For special presentations of E, see "Style," p. 283.

*Remark.* The argument from "Theology" has been referred to under J's matter, p. 280.

## XIII. The Analysis of Gen. 33:18-37:1.

[*Subjects:* (1) Jacob's arrival in Shechem; (2) Dinah outraged and avenged; (3) Jacob revisits Bethel; (4) God's covenant with Jacob; (5) Rachel's death and Benjamin's birth; (6) the *toledoth* of Esau.]

## A. Element of P.

## 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

33:18\* [Del., gives 19 to P; K. and S., 18b = E]; 34:1a,2a, 4,6,8-10,15-17,20-24... (13sq., 18,25,27-29, and טמא in v. 5 = R) [So Kitt., Well., 1a,2,4-6,7\*,8-10,13-18,20-24,27-29 = X; Del. gives the *same* to R; Kuen., 1 and 2 in part, 4-6, 8-10,13 and 14 in part, 15-17,20-24,25 partly, 27-29 = R; K. and S., like Dill., but adding ויאהב את הנערה in v. 3, and vs. 13,14,18,25 in part]; 35:6a,9-15 (except עור in 9 = R), 16 partly, 19 in part, 22b (beginning ויקרי)—29 [all critics deny anything of 16,19 to P, and all but K. and S., anything in 6 also; otherwise *all* like Dill.; K. and S. give 14 to R, and 13b = gloss]; 36:2a,5b,6-8 (1,2b-5a = R, based on J(?) and P<sup>2</sup>) [Bud., 1-5 = R based on P<sup>2</sup>; so K. and S.; Well., 1-5 = unknown source; Kuen., P<sup>2</sup> was superseded perhaps by 1-5,9-19; Del., 1 = P<sup>2</sup>, 2-5 = R. Otherwise, *all* like Dill.]; 37:1 [so *all*].

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"And Jacob, on his way from Paddan-aram, stops at Shechem. Dinah is seen by Shechem, the son of Hamor, the prince of the land; and he asks his father to get her for him as a wife. Hamor accordingly makes a proposition of intermarriage and commerce to Jacob's family. It is accepted on condition that the prince and his subjects be circumcised, which is complied with.\* Then Jacob goes to Luz in Canaan, where God appears to him, changes his name to Israel, and renews his promise of numerous descendants; (and Jacob raises a pillar and pours libations upon it(?))†, naming it Beth-el. As they proceed further, Rachel dies on the road." Then comes an enumeration of Jacob's twelve sons. "He arrives home. Then Isaac dies and is buried by Esau and Jacob. Esau, whose genealogy is here formally given, goes to Seir, because the land is not enough for him and his brother, while Jacob remains in Canaan, his father's dwelling-place."

\* "What became of Dinah?" the interested reader will ask. But that is beyond P's scope. *Circumcision* is all he wished to emphasize. It must be further remembered that, outside of this chapter, we know nothing about Jacob's daughter.

† A pillar and libations are hardly consistent with P; but cf. Dill., *Gen.*, 5th ed., pp. 371-372.

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) ארץ כנען (33:18; 35:6; 36:6; 37:1).  
 (2) פדן ארם (33:18; 35:9,26).  
 (3) כל זכר (34:15,22,24).  
 (4) אלהים (35:9,10,11,13,15).  
 (5) קרית ארבע (35:27).  
 (6) גוע (35:29).  
 (7) האסף אל עמיו (35:29).  
 (8) ואלה תלדות (36:1,9).  
 (9) נפש *slave* (36:6).  
 (10) רכש (verb and noun) (36:6,7).  
 (11) אל שרי (35:11).  
 (12) פרה ורבה (35:11).

(13) זרען אחרין (35:12).

(14) ערלה (34:14).

(15) כול (34:15,17,22 twice,24).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

There are none that are characteristic of P. It is worthy of note that this writer has already practically exhausted his historic vocabulary. The chapter contains one very rare word, אֹת (34:15,22,23), found outside of this chapter only in 2 Kgs. 12:9; and a few others that are rather prophetic, as דָּשַׁק (34:8)\*, and שָׁלַם (33:18; 34:21), and רָחַבַּת יָדַיִם (34:21). Is it due to the influence of R?

## 4. STYLE.

It is—1) *Exact, explicit*. (1) "Shechem, which is in the land of Canaan," 33:18; (2) Jacob arrives in Shechem "when he came from Paddan-aram," 33:18 (we were just told of Jacob's departure for home, 31:18); (3) "Dinah, Leah's daughter, which she bore to Jacob," 34:1 (did Leah have any other husband?); (4) Jacob comes to Luz "which is in the land of Canaan," 35:6 (was there another Luz? or could Jacob come to it on his way to his father? This is simply *legal precision*); (5) "God appeared to Jacob again when he came from Paddan-aram," 35:9; (6) "These are the sons of Jacob which were born to him in Paddan-aram," 35:26; (7) "Kiryath-arba, that is Hebron, where Abraham and Isaac sojourned," 35:27; (8) to guard us against making a mistake in counting Jacob's sons, we are told that they were twelve, 35:22b; (9) note also Isaac's age, 180 years, 35:28.

2) *Stereotyped*. (1) Most of the *above* examples, from a different point of view, illustrate also this feature. But add to them (2) **הַמּוֹל כָּל זָכָר** 34:15,22,24; (3) **וְאֵלֶּה תִּלְדוֹת** [ninth in the series] 36:1,9; (4) the account of Isaac's death, "He gave up the ghost, and died, and was gathered unto his people," 35:29 [cf. 25:8,17].

3) *Verbose and repetitious*. (1) Some of the *above*, both under 1) and 2), illustrate this. But further (2) "the father of Shechem," in 34:6 is superfluous; (3) v. 9b adds nothing to 9a; i. e., *seven words* out of *nine* can be left out; (4) 35:13b is unnecessary in itself; (5) yet it is repeated in 14 and 15; (6) 35:26b adds nothing to 22b, which is in itself unnecessary; (7) only the first clause (*five words* out of *fifteen*) is required; (8) vs. 6 and 7 of 36 need only be read to show clearly their very full and repetitious character.

## 5. MATERIAL.

1) *Remarks*. (1) We have here one anomaly, and according to Dill., even *two*: (a) The introduction of the story about Dinah. But is it only a story about Dinah? Its real purpose is to show how *firmly rooted the rite of circumcision* has

\* Dill. calls it characteristic of P.

become and how repugnant intermarriage with the Gentiles is in the hearts and minds of Jacob's family. Just like ch. 23 it has a *legal* purpose. (b) The pillar and sacrifice by a patriarch, which is a theological incongruity for P, therefore most critics assign it to R; but Dill. explains it as a fact so firm in the tradition that even P was compelled to insert it. (2) P's material, though slightly altered by R, is still—as shown above by “language” and “style”—quite distinguishable; and, generally speaking, it accords well with his purpose. (3) The duplicates are quite *full*, only one important *missing* link occurring in ch. 34, where the circumcision scheme has to be supplied in J from P's account. But it is no more than natural that, having given it so fully in P, R, in combining the *two* stories, omitted one account. (4) As usual, R, in *reconciling* different versions of the same event, and blending them into one, leaves behind him traces of his work.

2) *Duplicates and differences.* Ch. 34 discloses, not only by its language and style, but also by the material itself, that it is a *combination*; e. g., (1) v. 6, Hamor coming to talk to Jacob is hardly in keeping with v. 5, Jacob's knowledge of the outrage; (2) nor does it go with v. 8, where Hamor speaks with *them* (not Jacob); (3) v. 7 does not fit in; if it were in its *proper* place, it would have some introductory clause, as עֹרֶם מִרְבִּירִים [cf. 27:5a,30 (*second clause*); 29:9; 24:15a, etc]; (4) vs. 8–10 have one proposition; (a) made by *Hamor*, (b) with no offer for any insult inflicted, (c) referring to intermarriage and commerce; while (5) vs. 11,12 have quite another proposition; here (a) Shechem speaks, (b) he asks for a *favor*, willing to give any dowry or gift (מֶנֶחֶר, cf. Ex. 22:15,16), (c) he wants Dinah, without *any* reference to future alliances; (6) it is impossible that the writer of ch. 17, who made circumcision the holiest institution of pre-Mosaic times, should make the patriarch himself use it here for such an immoral purpose; hence, v. 13 cannot be from the same pen with vs. 14–17; (7) after v. 25b, 28a is meaningless; for surely, if they slew every male, they killed the offender and his father; and (8) strangely enough, when we put these opposing parts together, we get *two* different presentations, each throughout consistent with P and J *respectively*: P does not know about *difficulties* in patriarchal affairs, and holds circumcision in great sacredness; while J knows little or nothing about circumcision as a rite, and is full of romantic adventures in the lives of the patriarchs. Still further, (9) 35:9–15 (*except* 14?) is but a different presentation of 32:25–28 + 28:11–19; in other words, the story here is based on three different traditions: (a) E's strange incident which ended in Jacob's receiving the name Israel; (b) J's renewal of God's promise to Jacob; (c) the theophany at Luz which gave it the name of Beth-el, from JE; but (10) note that the narrative here is very different in its details; since (a) it *all* happens on Jacob's return from Paddan-aram; (b) there are no angels, either to dream of or to fight with; (c) no significance is attached to the new name of Jacob; (d) the promise here is almost copied from ch. 17, while that of 28:13,14 resembles closely 13:14,15. (11) The story here

certainly does not presuppose the former stories. (a) Did Jacob name Bethel twice? (b) did God change Jacob's name twice? What necessity for such action? How is it that they do not refer, at least, to the first occasions?

3) *Ill-fitting juxtapositions*: (1) We have pointed out some of these in ch. 34, where the *verses* do not follow consecutively. But (2) ch. 35 is by far more remarkable in this respect: (a) if *all* of ch. 35 is from *one* writer (whether Moses or some one else), the theophany of vs. 9-15 is a mere continuation of vs. 1-7; then v. 8 becomes out of place,\* while vs. 14,15 become a mere repetition of v. 7. (3) Could there be anything more strange than to place vs. 22b-26 after 22a? (4) In the case of ch. 36, the disorderly arrangement of material is very conspicuous: (a) vs. 2,3 enumerate *three* wives, thus, Adah, Aholibamah and Basemath, the *order* (though not the names) corresponding with 26:34 and 28:9, Ishmael's daughter being the *last*. But in v. 10, the sons of *Adah and Basemath* are confusedly considered together, while Aholibamah's offspring come only in v. 14; and this new order is persisted in through vs. 15-19; (b) v. 8b is as harsh a repetition of v. 1 as could be inserted in this place; (c) v. 10b is an inconvenient combination; we should expect the last clause to come after the first clause of v. 13; (d) vs. 15-18 are evidently a confused (see below under inconsistencies) repetition of 11-14, adding nothing but אֱלֹהֵי to each name; but in former genealogies (cf. ch. 10) it is assumed that each name is the head-of-family, without going over the ground; (e) vs. 40-43 should most naturally come after v. 30, while 31-39, the successions of kings, should come last of all, since it reaches down to a later date historically; (f) what is to be said of the presence of vs. 31-39 themselves? Could Moses possibly have written them? Does not v. 31 clearly show that it was written at least after the time of Saul or David?

4) *Inconsistencies*. (1) 35:10 declares Jacob's *new name* to have been given him in *Bethel*; 32:28, at *Peniel*. (2) Jacob names Bethel, according to 35:15 when coming *from* Mesopotamia; according to 28:19—when going *to* it. (3) According to 35:23-26, *Benjamin* (like all the other children) was born *in Padan-aram*; according to 35:16-18, his birth took place *on the way* near *Ephrath*. (4) 35:27-29 makes Isaac still alive on Jacob's return from Mesopotamia; while 27:1,2,4,7,10 emphasizes his being on his death-bed when Jacob left home, at least twenty-five years earlier.† (5) But Isaac's age is troublesome in another direction; viz., Isaac was sixty, when the twins were born (25:26); he was then *scarcely* over 100 when Esau married (26:34); but this marriage, according to 26:35, 27:46, and 28:1-9, was the occasion *in connection* with which Jacob left home. But

\* The Massorites felt it, and put a פתיווקח after it.

† The calculation is a simple one: seven years service, before marrying Leah (29:20-25); Leah gives birth to *six* sons and *one* daughter before Joseph's birth (29:31-30:22) which would at least require *ten* years; hence at Joseph's birth, Jacob was at least *eighteen* years away from home. On leaving Laban, moreover, 31:41 tells us, he was *twenty* years with Laban. When meeting Esau, Joseph is old enough to understand the *situation* (he bows to Esau), in fact going *before* Rachel, being at least *ten* years old.

Isaac lived 180 (35:28). In other words, (a) Isaac was but past middle life when Jacob left; why, then, consider him near death? (b) Jacob was away from home, according to these figures, about 80 years; but where was he for sixty years, after leaving Laban? and how could Joseph be but seventeen years (37:2a) after Isaac's death, if born while Jacob was still with Laban? P's figures do not seem to go with the prophetic stories. (6) How many wives did *Esau* have, and what were *their names*? [26:34 and 28:9, cf. 36:1-2, etc.] (7) According to 36:6-8, the separation of Esau and Jacob takes place as follows: after Isaac's death; for lack of room; Esau leaving Jacob to go to Seir; but according to 27:41-44, it is *before* Isaac's death; because of Esau's hatred, or Jacob's deceit; Jacob departing from Esau to go to Haran. (8) 32:4 says that Esau was already in Seir before Jacob reached home; but 36:8 locates him in Seir only after Isaac's death, i. e., after Jacob's return home. Can these difficulties be more easily explained upon the supposition of a single writer, than of at least two?

#### 6. THEOLOGY.

1) P relates the transaction at Shechem only (1) to glorify circumcision, showing how firmly Jacob's family insisted upon it; (2) to exemplify the aversion of the patriarch for intermarriage with *Canaanites* (in the *broad* sense).

2) God's appearance to Jacob is, *as usual*, formal and distant.

3) 35:13-14 are probably R's attempt to harmonize (?) P with JE, or (with Dill.) they are the only exception to the absence of sacrifice in pre-Mosaic times.

#### B. Element of J.

##### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

33:18b; (18a = P<sup>2</sup>) [no other critic gives it to J. K. and S. = E; Well, 19\* = J]; 34:2b, 3, 5, 7, 11-13, 19, 25\*, 26, 30sq. (1a, 2a, 4, 6, 8-10, 15, (14)-17, 20-24 = P<sup>2</sup>) [Well., Kuen., 3, 7 in part, 11sq., 19, 25sq., 30sq. (as to the rest of the chapter, Well. knows nothing except that it is *not* P<sup>2</sup>; Kuen. gives quite a portion to R, see *HEBRAICA*, July, '88, p. 238, note 101); Del., like Dill., except 13 = E (27, 29 = E, rest of the chapter = P<sup>2</sup>); Kitt., like Dill., *adding* 1b, 14; K. and S., 1b, 2b, 3 (except יִיאָהֵב אֶת הַנְּעִרָה , 5, 7, 11sq., 19, a few words in 25, 26 (except first *two* words), 30sq.] ; 35:21(?) (21(?) , 22a = R) [Well., *no* J in 35; Kuen., 22a(?) ; 21sq. = R; Del., 16-20, 21sq. = R; Kitt., 21sq.; K. and S., 16-22 = JE]; 36:2sq., 10, 13, 16-18, 20-28(?) (these parts of 36 removed by R from before 32:4; 1, 2a(?) and other portions of 36 = R) [Well, 31-39 = J or E, the rest of the chapter = R, except 6-8, 40-48 = P<sup>2</sup>; Kuen., greater portion of 36 *doubtful*; Del., 2-5 = R; Kitt., basis of 1sq. possibly = J; K. and S., 31-39 = JE, the rest (outside of P portions) = R].

##### 2. SYNOPSIS.

"....And he [= Shechem\*] takes her [= Dinah\*] and outrages her, loving her passionately. Jacob hears of the insult, but waits till his sons return from

\* This must be supplied from other material.



the field. They receive the horrible tidings with mingled sorrow and anger, and when Shechem proposes to do whatever they will ask of him, if only they will let him have their sister, they demand of him deceitfully [that he and all the people be circumcised\*]. He complies with all haste. Then Simeon and Levi fall upon the helpless city, slay all males in it, and rescue Dinah. Jacob fears a general uprising of the surrounding tribes; but his brave boys reply, 'Shall he then treat our sister as a harlot?' Then comes an account of Esau's wives and descendants, the enumeration of which may here be omitted.

### 3. THE LANGUAGE OF J.

#### 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) ... דבק (34:3): cf. 2:24.
- (2) מקנה (34:5): but also 36:6,7 = P.
- (3) חרה (34:7).
- (4) נא (34:8?): the verse is assigned to P.
- (5) מִצָּחַח (34:11).
- (6) אהל (35:21).
- (7) עצב (34:7).
- (8) במרמה (34:13): rare.
- (9) אחר (verb) (34:19).

#### 2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) לִפִּי חרב (34:26): cf. Ex. 17:13; Num. 21:24, and *multa* in Josh.
- (2) מִקְהָר (34:12): cf. Ex. 22:16. Rare.

#### 3) ὁ ἄπαξ λεγόμενον.

- (1) דבר על לב (34:3): nowhere else in Hex. But cf. Is. 40:2; Hos. 2:16.

### 4. STYLE.

[As usual, JE are considered together, as far as they agree.]

1) *Stories.* (1) The adventure at Shechem [P's account can scarcely be called a story]; (2) Deborah's death (35:8 = E?); (3) Rachel's sad death (= E); (4) Reuben's sin (35:22).

2) *Human nature depicted.* (1) Jacob keeps quiet till his sons return (34:5); (2) the brothers hear of their sister's shame with mingled feelings of sorrow and rage (34:7); (3) the craftiness of Jacob and his sons (34:13); (4) the haste of the lover's compliance (34:19); (5) ruthless revenge (34:25,26); (6) the manly reply of the young men (34:31).

3) *Puns.* (1) אֵלֶּן בְּכוֹת (= oak of weeping) 35:8; (2) בֶּן-אֲנִי 35:18. [Both = E.]

### 5. MATERIAL.

See under P and under E.

### 6. THEOLOGY.

There is nothing special in J [cf. E].

## C. Element of E.

### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

33:19sq.\* [Well., 18\*,20; 19\* = J; Kuen., 18 partly, 19,20; Del., 20 (18sq. = P<sup>2</sup>); Kitt., 19sq., in part; K. and S., 18b-20]; 35:1-4,6b-8,16-19a,20 (6a = P<sup>2</sup>; לֵאמֹר הוּא בֵּית לַחֵם in 6, and הוּא בֵּית לַחֵם in 19b, and vs. 21,22a = R) [Well., 1-8

\* This must be supplied from other material.

(v. 2\*), 16-20 (except 19b, 21, 22a = R ?); Kuen., 1-8 (except 5 = R), 16, 20; Del., 34: 13, 27-29; 35:1-8, 16-20 = J; 21sq. ?; Kitt., 1, 3, 7 (2 and 4 = E or R from P<sup>2</sup>), 16-20; K. and S., like Dill., except 16-22a = JE].

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"Jacob purchases some land from Hamor, Shechem's father, where he pitches his tent and builds an altar. God bids him *re-visit* Bethel and worship Him there. Then Jacob orders his family to put away the *strange gods* which they have, and prepare themselves for the service of his God. They give him the idols and everything pertaining to their worship, and he buries all under an oak near by. He [goes\*] with his entire household, and builds an altar in Bethel. Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, dies, and is buried in Allon-bachuth. On their way from Bethel to Ephrath, Rachel gives birth to Benjamin, and dies. Jacob raises a monument over her grave."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

(1) אהל (33:19).

(2) מוכח (33:20; 35:1, 3, 7).

(3) אלהים (35:1, 5(?) , 7).

(2) קשה (verb) (35:16, 17): cf. 49:7; Ex. 7:3; 13:15. Many times also in Dt.

## 3) RARE WORDS.

(1) חלקת השרה (33:19): nowhere else in Hex.

(2) כברת ארץ (35:16): cf. 48:7. Outside of Hex. only in 2 Kgs. 5:19.

(1) טמן (35:4): cf. 43:23; Ex. 2:12; Jos. 2:6; 7:22.

(3) קשיטה (33:19).

## 4. STYLE (see under J).

## 5. MATERIAL.

1) As contrasted with P, see pp. 287-288.

2) As compared with J, the following *remarks* will suffice: (1) the two writers do not come in contact or in conflict as far as this section is concerned; for J tells about Shechem; E, about the *other* incidents of the journey. (2) Each prophet is consistent with himself: (a) ch. 34 shows Jacob's timid nature as presented by J in 32:4-13 and 33:1-15; (b) on the other hand, 35:1-7, Jacob's *second* visit to Bethel, accords with the *vow* he made in 28:20-22.

## 6. THEOLGY OF E.

1) He uses the plural verb with אלהים, 35:7.

2) Tells of strange gods in Jacob's house, 35:2, 4.

3) Mentions *altars* among patriarchs, 33:20; 35:1, 7.

4) Worship at Bethel is *emphasized* by Jacob's second visit, 35:1-7.

N. B.—The paper to be published in the October HEBRAICA, will continue from this point in Genesis through the historical part of Exodus.

\* This must be supplied from v. 5a.

## ➤BOOK NOTICES.◀

### SCHRADER'S "KEILINSCHRIFTLICHE BIBLIOTHEK."\*

The series of Assyrian and Babylonian texts in transliteration and translation of which the first volume lies before us, is a most useful and most important undertaking. Its ostensible purpose is, according to the preface, to collect in a convenient form the important historical, mythological, and general literary material furnished by such cuneiform texts as have, up to the present, been published. It differs from the old series of the "Records of the Past," of which it naturally reminds us, and of which it is in a measure the successor, in two important particulars. First, a transliteration of all the texts accompanies the translation, by means of which the latter may be controlled, and it may also be seen upon what basis the translation rests; and secondly, the translations themselves are, in the main, reliable and accurate. In saying this I do not wish to deny that the English series served a very useful end in its days, though its utility was strongly overshadowed by the mischief it wrought in popularizing premature results that often turned out entirely erroneous; but those days of usefulness are long since past, and no better means of estimating the real advance that has been made in Assyriology during the past fifteen or twenty years, can be suggested than to compare the translations in the English with those in the new German series.

The present volume aims to cover the period of Assyrian history from the most ancient times down to the reign of Rammannirari III., at the close of the ninth century before our era. Starting with the short inscriptions of the early Assyrian kings, it passes on to the longer one of Rammannirari I., and gives in succession the cylinder of Tiglathpileser I., the annals and hunting inscription of Ašurnasirbal, the obelisk and monolith of Shalmaneser II., and the obelisk of Rammannirari III. In addition to this, there are shorter inscriptions of some of the above and of other kings, and the volume is brought to a close with the text of the synchronous history of Assyria and Babylonia (completed so far as found), and a number of eponym lists.

The work has been parceled out among Drs. Winckler, Peiser, and Abel, Professor Schrader reserving for himself most of the short inscriptions. Con-

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\* SAMMLUNG VON ASSYRISCHEN UND BABYLONISCHEN TEXTEN IN UMSCHRIFT UND UEBERSETZUNG in Verbindung mit Dr. L. Abel, Dr. C. Bezold, Dr. P. Jensen, Dr. F. E. Peiser, Dr. H. Winckler, herausgegeben von Eberhard Schrader. Bd. I. Berlin: Reuther. 1889. M.6.

cerning the latter there is little to be said. They are, as a matter of course, correct as far as they are understood; but we do not notice any important contributions to the still doubtful passages. Only in the inscription of Asurrišiki (p. 12) I would like to suggest that the *an-ni*, in the fifth line, probably forms the tail of some verb having the meaning "appoint" or "send." Passing on to the others, the palm of excellence, I think, must be awarded to the translation of the Ašurnasirbal inscriptions by Dr. Peiser. More especially does the difficult introduction to the annals appear to have been executed with great care, and there can be no question of the decided advance which Peiser's version marks over that of his scholarly predecessor, Heinrich Lhotzky. The same praise must be bestowed upon the translation of the monolith of Shalmaneser, though here, of course, Dr. Peiser had Craig's careful study to serve him as a guide. The chief difficulty in the case of the monolith lies in the bad state of the text. Craig has probably made the most out of it that is possible, and a superficial comparison of Peiser's text with Craig's does not reveal that the former has improved, in any important particular, upon the latter. On the other hand, Dr. Winckler's work does not present evidence of the same carefulness and accuracy. His work gives one the impression of having been somewhat hurriedly done, especially so in the case of the obelisk inscription of Shalmaneser. From the preface it is not clear whether this text belongs to the number that were copied anew from the original; but if Dr. Winckler did consult the famous monument in the British Museum, it is certain that he has not been very careful in his collation. While he corrects many of the errors in Layard's text, of which the most have already been noticed in Sayce's translation ("Records of the Past," V. pp. 29-42), he leaves others stand, and adds some of his own for which there is no excuse whatsoever. In another page of *HEBRAICA* I give a full list of corrections to Layard's text which forms the result of a careful collation of the latter with a cast of the Black Stone in the possession of the University of Pennsylvania, and I therefore content myself here with calling attention only to some of the points which Dr. Winckler has overlooked.

L. 36.—Winckler reads *ip-paršid*. The monument has the same reading here as l. 113, viz. *ip-luḥma*. At the very most, we may suppose that the sign *UT* is an error on the part of the scribe for *ZAB*; but there is nothing to warrant Winckler's reading.

In view of Mon. II. 45, 46, 47, we must evidently read *Su-uḥ-mi* in l. 42 of obelisk, and not *Su-uḥ-ni*, as Winckler does.

A glance too at Mon. II. 69, where we have distinctly *Ši-i-tam-rat*, preceded by the determinative for mountain, might have shown Winckler that we must read *Ši-tam-rat*, obel. 46; instead of which he proposes an impossible *šitamgi*, taking the word as a common noun, without attempting, however, to give a translation. Besides the monolith, we have a second parallel passage in

the Balawat inscription, col. III. 4, which removes any further doubt as to Šitam-rat being a proper name, though curiously enough, in the latter passage the determinative preceding is "city" instead of "mountain." This is perhaps an error on the part of the scribe. But the cast of the obelisk also shows unmistakable traces of "rat" at the end of the line.

In line 52 Winckler has omitted ana šad, and so, l. 46, he omits abal A-di-ni.

Line 75, he might have noted that there is a space before malmališ, where we must evidently insert "mat," which appears in the parallel passage Bal. IV. 1. His translation too, "sie hatten zu gleichen Theilen getheilt," though having the strong support of Delitzsch (*Assyr. Dict.*, p. 223), can hardly be correct. Tiele, *Geschichte*, p. 201, seems to have hit the correct thing in rendering, "He [Marduk-belusate] had torn away the whole land."

The words "mat Hatti," l. 87, are not in the original, nor is there enough space at the end of the line for them, even if we suppose something wanting.

Line 99, the stone reads for the "18th" (not "19th") time, as Layard, and following him Menant and Sayce, do.

Line 108 the original reads U-e-ta-aš, and I cannot see the force of Winckler's emendation to Ga-i-ta-aš.

L. 114 should be Si-ḫi-ša-la-aḫ.

Again, l. 121, the word at the beginning is certainly not "tissi," for which Winckler naturally finds no translation. Careful examination has convinced me that the first character is "pi." As for the word "pissi" I confess that I cannot find an altogether satisfactory explanation. Some such meaning as "entrance" or "interior" seems to be demanded by the context. It is perhaps a synonym of the common "neribu." But however this may be, the reading is certain. Sayce translates "strongholds."

For Tuulka (l. 133) I feel almost certain that the original, defective at this point, has Tu-ul-li.

Line 129 the stone has tiduku-šu and šal-la-su, not šunu, as Winckler reads.

We might also mention such blunders as Madahirai for Madahisâ (l. 164), and the unpardonable Ir-ki-ia in No. III. of the Bas-relief inscriptions, instead of Sa-ke-e-a of the original, a correction to Layard already noted by Schrader (*KGF*. p. 272, note), Menant (*Annales*, p. 105), Sayce (*R. V.* p. 42), and Delitzsch, (*Par.* p. 123), and no doubt by others.

More such inaccuracies might be noted, but we will mention only one more. Line 175 begins very clearly with ina pan. Winckler's translation, "eilte ich zum zweiten Male" is out of the question. We feel sure that it was only undue haste which led him to overlook the ingenious hint thrown out by Sayce (*R. V.* p. 40) that the line contains an allusion to a celebration by Shalmaneser of the

completion of his thirty years reign. He marks his assumption of the office of *limmu* for a second time (see the eponym list p. 206, col. i) by some ceremonies in honor of the gods. Tiele, *Geschichte*, p. 204, adopts the suggestion. As for the word which marks the ceremony, the most probable reading seems to me to be bu-u-na. The first two signs are certain, and of the last the first part can be seen. There is hardly room for a more complicated sign. For a suggestion with regard to būnu see my notes to the inscription in the next number of *HEBRAICA*.

Passing on to the translation, there are also criticisms to be made. His rendering of tamdi ulil as "I made my weapons bright at the sea," is very unsatisfactory. The phrase clearly has reference to the king's hanging up his weapons at the seashore, much as the ancient Teutons hung their weapons on the mighty oaks of the forest as a trophy. In line 72 e-te-bu is the 3d person plural, not the singular. For line 93 he might have adduced the two parallel passages in the Bull inscriptions (Lay 16, 47, and 47, 29), where we have twice Ka-a-pišunu, of which Kabi-ši-na is evidently but a different spelling. The king placed his image on the "rocks," not in the "caves."

Line 106.—Tu..... cannot be part of a proper name. There appears to be nothing at all missing at the end of the line, and we must therefore either take the sign as an ideogram indicating some metal, or it is the phonetic complement, as Sayce would have it, to the preceding sign; so that we are to read ana kišittu "for the conquest of." Of course we should expect kišitti.

Instead of rapšatê (ll. 142, 149, 160, 176) the reading gabšate appears preferable (cf. T. P. VI. 1; Sanh., Taylor, III. 43).

Turning to Winckler's translation of the cylinder of Tiglathpileser I., this is decidedly a better piece of work. In a number of important passages he improves upon Lotz's admirable work. But an equal number of difficult passages have escaped him also. His rendering of mušêbru šini as "welcher zerschmettert die Schuldigen" (col. i. 8) is quite impossible. I have before me the copy of Lotz's Tiglathpileser from the library of the late Stanislas Guyard. It contains on the margins some notes in the handwriting of the lamented savant, and for this phrase he makes the correct suggestion "qui garde les bons ou les surveille," that is, who protects or watches over the good, the contrast being za-al-pat ai-bi, which Guyard translates "qui decouvre les mesfaits des ennemis." He evidently takes mušêbru as a šafel of baru to look, and I see that Allen, in his additions and corrections to Lotz's T. P. (PAOS., Oct., '88, p. civ), does the same. For col. i. 37, ušaḫilu, Guyard makes the suggestion "sharpened," which is preferable to Winckler's "klirren liess."

"Umwallungen," col. III. 49, as a rendering of labani will hardly meet with favor. On the other hand, his translation of col. II. 27 is excellent, though he is indebted to Dr. Peiser for the suggestion which throws light on the obscu-

rity. So also must his improved renderings of col. II. 45, col. VI. 57, and other passages, be commended. But on col. III. 104-5, "im ersten Drittel des Tages wo die Sonne aufgeht" is, to say the least, obscure. "From sunrise" is the sense of the passage. For col. II. 9 see Halevy, ZK. I. p. 262, who takes *ḥûla* as an adjective from a stem *חלל bad*, and translates "the bad [road] I repaired." This strikes me as far preferable to "Wuestniss," adopted by Winckler.

If space permitted more points might be noticed. But on the whole the translation of the Tiglathpileser inscription must be declared satisfactory, though not final. For some further suggestions, I may refer to Allen's article above quoted, whose proposed reading *zer šangutišu* for the mysterious *zirritišu* is especially to be noted. I might add that Guyard, in a note to col. VII. 73 and VIII. 36, already suggests *šanguti* though overlooking it in col. I. 25 and VIII. 34.

The typographical errors are few and insignificant. In a number of cases we note *i* for *î*, and *vice versa*; but in general the whole work is a model of accuracy. As a great advantage of the translations it must be accounted that they are almost literal, even to the point of sounding at times harsh. There is no attempt made at fine phraseology. Considering too that the work is prepared by different scholars, there is as much unanimity in the conception and rendering of phrases and titles as could be expected. The series is intended to cover four volumes.

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

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.....M. 20—
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# GENERAL INDEX.

---

Babylonian Letter.—The Joseph Shemtob Collection of Babylonian Antiquities recently purchased for the University of Pennsylvania.....	74
Bacon, Rev. Benjamin Wisner, Pentateuchal Analysis. II.....	7
Bibliography, Semitic.....	94, 207, 297
Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II., Corrections to the Text of the.....	280
Book Notices: Assyriological Journal, A New, 93; Krall, <i>Tyre and Sidon</i> , 205; Schrader, "Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek," 292; Wortabet, Arabic-English Dictionary, 92	
Brown, Prof. Francis, Semitic Study in the Theological Seminary.....	86
Carrier, Rev. A. S., The Hapax Legomena of the Minor Prophets.....	131, 209
Contributed Notes: Arabic Coin, An, <i>J. F. X. O'Connor</i> , 200; Devise Evil, <i>Thomas Laurie</i> , 196; House of their Fathers, <i>T. L.</i> , 196; Inscription of Tabnit, The, <i>Richard Gottheil</i> , 197; Judges xv. 16, 198; Manuscript of the Ethiopic Psalter, A, <i>G. H. Schodde</i> , 199; Mouth, <i>T. L.</i> , 196; Prof. Bickell's System of Hebrew Metre, 197; Semitic Studies in America, Postscript to, <i>Morris Jastrow, Jr.</i> , 198; Tenses in Hebrew Narrative, The Use of the, <i>W. H. Bennett</i> , 202	
Davidson, Samuel, Notes on the Psalms.....	97
Egypt, Erman's.....	110
Gottheil, Prof. R. J. H., A Syriac Lexicographical Tract.....	215
Green, Prof. William Henry, American Students of Semitic Literature. ...	89
—— The Pentateuchal Question.....	137
Hapax Legomena of the Minor Prophets, The.....	131, 209
Harper, Robert Francis, Babylonian Letter—The Joseph Shemtob Collection of Babylonian Antiquities recently purchased for the University of Pennsylvania.....	74
Harper, Prof. W. R., Semitic Studies in the University... ..	83
—— The Pentateuchal Question. I. Gen. I. 1—XII. 5.....	18
—— The Pentateuchal Question. II. Gen. XII. 6—XXXVII. 1.....	243
Haupt, Prof. Paul, America's Recognition of Oriental Philology and Archaeology.....	89
Hebrew Verb—Plural in <i>Â</i> , Notes on the.....	190
Hulbert, Henry W., Wortabet's Arabic-English Dictionary.....	92
Jastrow, Prof. Morris, Jr., Corrections to the Text of the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II.....	230
—— Jewish Grammarians of the Middle Ages. VI.....	115
—— The Present Status of Semitic Study in this Country.....	77
Jewish Grammarians of the Middle Ages. VI.....	115
Kohler, Rabbi K., Jastrow's Talmudic Dictionary.....	1

Lyon, Prof. David G., The University of Pennsylvania and Recent Researches in Chaldea.....	90
Maas, Prof. A. J., Pronominal Roots.....	192
—— The Use of Pesiq in the Psalms.....	121
Oriental Philology and Archæology, America's Recognition of.....	89
Pentateuchal Analysis. II. ....	7
Pentateuchal Question, The.....	18, 187, 243
Pesiq in the Psalms, The Use of.....	121
Peters, Rev. John P., Notes on the Hebrew Verb—Plural in $\hat{A}$ .....	190
Pronominal Roots.....	192
Psalms, Notes on the.....	97
Recent Researches in Chaldea, The University of Pennsylvania and.....	90
Semitic Literature, American Students of.....	89
Semitic Studies in America, Retrospect and Prospect of.....	80
Semitic Study in the Theological Seminary.....	86
Semitic Study in the University.....	83
Semitic Studies in this Country, Present condition of.....	88
Semitic Studies in this Country, The Present Status of.....	77
Syriac Lexicographical Tract, A.....	215
Talmudic Dictionary, Jastrow's.....	1
Toy, Crawford H., Present Condition of Semitic Studies in this Country....	88
Ward, William Hayes, Retrospect and Prospect of Semitic Studies in America.....	80
Wendel, F. C. H., Erman's Egypt.....	110





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